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HISTORY OF ASCETICISM
IN THE SYRIAN ORIENT
A Contribution to the History of Culture
In the Near East

III

BY

ARTHUR VÖÖBUS †

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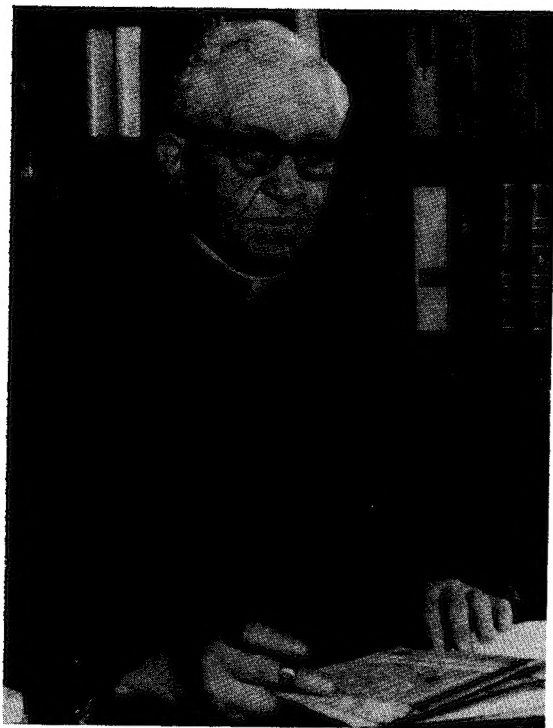
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PIÆ MEMORIÆ
RENATI DRAGUET

QVI CORPVS SCRIPTORVM CHRISTIANORVM ORIENTALIVM
BELLO LOVANII SÆVIENTE DESTRVCTVM
DENVO CONDIDIT
DEINDE INDEFESSO STVDIO AC MIRO INGENIO ELABORATVM
TRECENTIS FERE VOLVMINIBVS ADAVXIT
VLTIMO TANDEM OPVS INIQVE EREPTVM
SEMPER SVVM CONSTANTER AC LIBERE VINDICAVIT
SERIEI FIDELITER HVC VSQVE SERVATÆ
ET VIA AC RATIONE QVA AVCTOR VSVS EST PROVECTÆ
VOLVMEN HOC QVINGENTESIMVM
DEDICATVR



Professor Arthur Vööbus was particularly proud
to have been entrusted with the five-hundredth volume of the C.S.C.O.

In these five hundred pages he presents the third of five volumes
which he was planning as his masterly *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*.

Unfortunately, the ultimate satisfaction
of actually holding this volume in his hands, was not to be his:
he departed this life on September 26th, 1988 while he was still correcting the first proofs.

So this will be the last, and perhaps the most challenging,
of the twenty-seven volumes he contributed to the C.S.C.O.

Along with the dedication that was intended for the memory of his friend R. Draguet,
another one is due to him, a thankful tribute to a great Syriac scholar,
who was also a convinced Christian, a devoted patriot and a man of warmth and humanity.
«Henceforth, says the Spirit, he may rest from his labours». (Rev. 14:13).

PREFACE

It is a matter of deep regret that the interval, since the publication of the second volume of this work and now, has become so long. The second volume of this work appeared in 1960. That an inordinate lapse of time was beyond my control I have given a more detailed explanation elsewhere, one which I felt I owed readers¹.

The previous volumes have treated the beginning of asceticism in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia and the development of the movement and its expansion. They also have devoted much attention to the ascetic practices in all of the variegated forms of mortification in which the Syrians have proved themselves. These practices, in the course of time, became deep-rooted traditions which have lasted more or less for centuries. Actually no new forms of ascetic expression were created in later times; these phenomena have been sufficiently covered and need no further discussion. It is time to direct attention to other issues which the movement of Syrian monasticism has produced.

Primary attention in this third volume has been devoted to two important areas which have grown out of the movement of asceticism.

The first concerns the sources which monasticism produced in order to nourish the ascetic life in the monastic communities, in the cells of ascetics and in the huts of the anchorites, the sources from which the spiritual athletes drew their inspiration. Therefore it is necessary to deal with the thoughts, ideas, figures and images which were created to sustain their self-consciousness and to motivate them in their ascetic practices and acts of mortification. These are the components which contributed to the development of the system of ascetic spirituality and mysticism. All of it, taken together, constitutes the spiritual force which lies behind the extraordinary phenomena produced by the Syrians. In the course of time, ascetic theology developed into a kind of philosophy of asceticism and spirituality, taking an independent course by comparison with the Egyptian and Byzantine monasticism. We see the development of a thoughtworld, rich and manifold, growing out of ancient Syrian ascetic imagery, gradually enriched by a «learned» approach or philosophy of spirituality, springing from indigenous as well as outside

¹ See the Preface in my *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, Vol. II.

impulses. This is the realm which it is absolutely necessary to understand if the phenomenon of Syrian asceticism and monasticism is to be grasped.

As important a concern in this volume is another genre of sources, equally important in order to understand Syrian monasticism. These sources flow from monasteries and other authorities interested in the furtherance of monastic discipline. Here we have to do with the legislative sources, canons and rules set up to regulate organized life in the monastic communities. These are a very valuable division in the primary sources which unfold the ways in which the issues of asceticism were resolved with regard to life in the monasteries and convents. In their manifoldness and variegation, they give us many insights into the life of monasticism which other sources cannot give: sociological issues, organization of the communities, spiritual leadership in monastic centers, ascetic practices, monastic discipline, the regulation of daily life and the regulations between the communities and the church, as well as the outside world.

There was a time when complaints about the scarcity of these sources were common. As this volume unfolds, we are grateful that a very impressive number of sources in the genre of monastic legislation, thanks to the relentless search for new manuscript sources hidden here and there in the Syrian Orient, will pass before us.

In connection with these two areas of primary sources, it must be emphasized that the treatment of them rests on many totally unknown records which have been ferreted out of their places of hiding in the Syrian Orient. In fact, we find ourselves faced with a satisfactory prospect, namely, massive enrichment via unearthed records for the deepening of research. The very presentation of such a wealth of unknown manuscript sources constitutes an event in itself. That within a single volume such a plethora of totally unknown manuscript sources can be presented is a matter of profound gratification.

Another set of concerns in this volume has to do with the role of Syrian monasticism, its part in the religious, spiritual, social, cultural and cross-cultural history in the Near Middle East, Arabia, and even in Africa.

One development which calls for treatment in the first instance is the founding of the Monophysite church in which Syrian monasticism played an essential and decisive role. This event brought about very deep changes on the ecclesiastical scene in the Syrian Orient. Monasticism

became the spiritual force of the movement, and it had the strength to endure all the reprisals and persecutions, and during the most critical situations, the ability to provide able leaders to carry on the struggle and undergo all of the birth pangs of the Monophysite church. The formation of this church demanded men of extraordinary stamina and spirit of self-sacrifice, only spiritual leaders worthy of leading the ranks in monastic garbs.

Next come the efforts of the Syrian monastic movement in the areas of missionary enterprise and evangelization. That which took place over wide areas, indeed, evokes amazement.

Since the missionary impact of monasticism upon Armenia² and Gruzinia³ have already been treated, that discussion does not need to be repeated here. It remains to investigate the evangelization and the radiation of Christianity in the wide realm of the Arabs. This concerns Arab nomads, semi-nomads, tribes and clusters of tribes in Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia. This was an enterprise which, owing to its particular difficulties and hardships, only monasticism, with its forces of extraordinary devotion, self-sacrifice, strength and stamina could undertake. As a result of these endeavors, many-colored and variegated huge Arab communities, spread over wide territories, gradually took on a different complexion with regard to their religious and spiritual outlook during the pre-Islamic centuries.

Not only did the missionary enterprise take place in Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia, but also, as the investigation into the expansion of missionary efforts demanded, across South Arabia to Ethiopia. The beginnings of Christianity, connected with the efforts of Frumentios, obviously must have lost their initial impact. The Christianization of the country required a longer period for consolidation and thus the spread of Christianity needed more than one impulse in order to become established in the land. Here, again, Syrian monasticism stepped in. It is the merit of the Syrian monks to have given a renewed and fruitful impetus so that the Christian cause took on a new turn in the country of the Negus.

Thus, over a wide territory, Syrian monasticism was able to exercise its spiritual force, spreading fruitful stimuli which changed the spiritual

² VööBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* II, p. 353ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 358ff.

complexion of the peoples living in the territories, beginning with Armenia and ending with Ethiopia.

One other particular concern must be mentioned. It has to do with the special question, namely of the impact of Syrian monasticism upon the Muslim Arabs. We have to do with the problem of the way the rough, often too wild, sons of the desert of Arabia, the warriors and conquerors of the new territories in the expansion of Islam, were internally conquered by those vanquished. Our approach has been made from three directions. The first concerns the spreading of the spirit of charity, mercy and humane warmth, the radiation of deeper humane values. The second concerns the impact of asceticism and mysticism which quietly permeated deeper spirits in Islam, developing gradually into the movement of Sufism. The third approach concerns the cultural and scholarly realm for which the Syrians had created very vital premises which the Arabs were easily able to appropriate. Here is to be found the key for the spectacular rise of the Arab culture.

Finally, it is natural that the treatment of all these issues has to take the historical framework under changed conditions into account. The collapse of Byzantine rule in the eastern provinces, as well as that of the empire of the Sassanids during the Arab invasion, inaugurated a new era, the rule of the Umayyads and then that of the rule of the Abbasids, with new premises and conditions of life.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ABBELOOS, *De vita et scriptis Jacobi* = J. B. ABBELOOS, *De vita et scriptis S. Jacobi Batmarum Sarugi episcopi*. Lovanii 1867.
- 'ABDİŞÖ', *Catalogus librorum*, ed. ASSEMANI = EBEDJESUS, *Catalogus librorum ecclesiasticorum*, ed. J. S. ASSEMANI, in: BiblO III, 1. Romae 1725.
- 'ABDİŞÖ', *Nomocanon*, ed. A. ASSEMANI = EBEDJESUS, *Nomocanon*, ed. A. ASSEMANI, in: SVNC X. Romae 1838.
- AbhAWB = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. Berlin.
- AbhGWG = Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Göttingen.
- AbhKM = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Leipzig.
- AbhPAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin.
- ABRAMOWSKI, *Dionysius von Tellmahre* = R. ABRAMOWSKI, *Dionysius von Tellmahre, jakobitischer Patriarch von 818-845. Zur Geschichte der Kirche unter dem Islam*, in: AbhKM XXV, 2. Leipzig 1940.
- AbrNahr = *Abr Nahrain*. Melbourne.
- ABŪ 'L-BARAKĀT, *Le livre de la lampe des ténèbres*, éd. VILLECOURT = *Le livre de la lampe des ténèbres et de l'exposition (lumineuse) du service (de l'Église) par Abū 'l-Barakāt, connu sous le nom d'Ibn Kabar*, éd. L. VILLECOURT, in: PO XX. Paris 1929.
- ABŪ 'L-BARAKĀT, *Miṣbāḥ az-zilma*, hrsgg. von W. RIEDEL = ABŪ 'L-BARAKĀT, *Miṣbāḥ az-zilma. Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischen Sprache*, hrsgg. von W. RIEDEL, in: NachGWG. Göttingen 1902.
- ABŪ 'L-FEDA, *Géographie I-II*, tr. GUYARD = *Géographie d'Abulfēda I-II*, tr. S. GUYARD. Paris 1883.
- ABŪ 'L-FEDA, *Historia anteislamica*, ed. FLEISCHER = ABULFEDA, *Historia anteislamica*, ed. H. O. FLEISCHER. Lipsiae 1831.
- ABU NAṢR AD DĪN = YAḤYĀ IBN JARIS, *Mursid*.
- ABU SHUJA' RUDHRAWARI, *Continuation of the Experiences*, tr. MARGOLIOUTH = ABU SHUJA, *Continuation of the Experiences*.
- Acta Aaronis*, ed. TURAIEV = *Acta Aaronis*, ed. B. TURAIEV. Romae 1905.
- Acta 'Abd al-Masiḥ*, ed. CORLUY = *Acta Sancti Mar Abdu'l Masich*, ed. J. CORLUY, in: ABoll V(1886).
- Acta Baṣalota Mikā'el*, ed. ROSSINI = *Acta Baṣalota Mikā'el*, ed. K. CONTI ROSSINI. Romae 1905.
- Acta conciliorum oecum.*, ed. SCHWARTZ = *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum iussu atque mandato Societatis Scientiarum Argentoratensis*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ. Berolini et Lipsiae 1914ff.
- Acta et diplomata graeca*, ed. MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER = *Acta et diplomata graecae medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. MIKLOSICH ET I. MÜLLER. Vindobonae 1862-87.
- Acta Honorii*, ed. ROSSINI = *Acta Honorii*, ed. K. CONTI ROSSINI. Romae 1905.

- Acta martyrum* I-VII, ed. BEDJAN = *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* I-VII, ed. P. BEDJAN. Parisiis 1890-97.
- Acta Pantaleonis*, ed. ROSSINI = *Acta Pantaleonis*, ed. K. CONTI ROSSINI. Romae 1904.
- Acta Philippi*, ed. TURAIEV = *Acta Philippi*, ed. B. TURAIEV, in: MonAethHag I. Petropoli 1902.
- ActaSS = *Acta sanctorum*. Bruxelles.
- Acta Takla Hawāryāt*, ed. ROSSINI = *Acta Takla Hawāryāt*, ed. K. CONTI ROSSINI. Romae 1910.
- ActaUGot = *Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis*. Göteborg.
- ActesCIO = Actes du X^e Congrès International des Orientalistes. Paris 1894.
- ADAM, «Grundbegriffe des Mönchtums» = A. ADAM, «Grundbegriffe des Mönchtums in sprachlicher Sicht», in: ZKg LXV(1953-4).
- AHRENS, «Christliches in Qorañ» = K. AHRENS, «Christliches in Qoran», in: ZDMG CXXXIV(1930).
- AKHTAL, *al-Dīwān*, ed. SALHANI = AKHTAL, *al-Dīwān*, ed. A. SALHANI. Beyrouth 1891-2.
- Akten der Ephesinischen Synode*, ed. FLEMMING = *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449 syrisch*, hrsgg. von J. FLEMMING, in: AbhGWG NF XV. Berlin 1917.
- ALBERT, «Une lettre spirituelle de Jacques de Saroug» = M. ALBERT, «Une lettre spirituelle de Jacques de Saroug, évêque monophysite des V^e-VI^e siècles», in: PdO III(1972).
- ALTANER-STUIBER, *Patrologie* = B. ALTANER und A. STUIBER, *Patrologie*. Freiburg-Basel 1966.
- AMR, *De patriarchis nest. commentaria*, ed. GISMONDI = AMR, *De patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria*, ed. H. GISMONDI. Romae 1896.
- Analecta syriaca*, ed. LAGARDE = *Analecta syriaca*, ed. P. LAGARDE. Lipsiae 1858.
- Anaphorae syriacae* I-IV, ed. RAES = *Anaphorae syriacae* I-IV, ed. A. RAES. Roma 1951.
- AnBoll = *Analecta Bollandiana*. Bruxelles.
- ALittCanS = Ancienne littérature canonique syriaque. Paris.
- ANDRAE, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum* = T. ANDRAE, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*. Uppsala 1926.
- ANFRAY, «Les rois d'Axum d'après la numismatique» = F. ANFRAY, «Les rois d'Axum d'après la numismatique», in: JES VI.
- Ang = *Angelicum*. Roma.
- ANTONIOS, *Vita Symeonis*, ed. LIETZMANN = ANTONIUS, *Vita Symeonis*, ed. H. LIETZMANN, in: TuU XXXII,4. Leipzig 1908.
- ANZATI, «Numismatica Axumita» = A. ANZANI, «Numismatica Axumita», in: RivIdNum XXXIX(1926).
- AOr = *Acta Orientalia*. Lugduni Batavorum.
- APHRAHAT, *Demonstrationes*, ed. PARISOT = APHRAATES, *Demonstrationes*, ed. I. PARISOT, in: PS I,1-2. Parisiis 1894-1907.
- APHRĒM, *Carmina Nisibena*, ed. BECK = *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers*

- Carmina Nisibena* I, hrsgg. von E. BECK, in: CSCO Scr. Syri XCII. Louvain 1961.
- APHRĒM, *Commentaire*, éd. LELOIR = SAINT ÉPHREM, *Commentaire de l'évangile concordant*, éd. L. LELOIR. Dublin 1963.
- APHRĒM, *Commentaire*, arm. éd. LELOIR = S. ÉPHREM, *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, ed. L. LELOIR, in: CSCO Scr. Arm. 1. Louvain 1953.
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- APHRĒM, *De nativitate*, ed. BECK = *Des hl. Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen De Nativitate*, hrsgg. von E. BECK, in: CSCO Scr. Syri LXXXII. Louvain 1959.
- APHRĒM, *Epistula ad montanos*, ed. OVERBECK = *Ephraem Syri epistula ad montanos*, ed. J. J. OVERBECK, in: Opera selecta. Oxonii 1865.
- APHRĒM, *Hymnes conservées en version arménienne*, éd. MARIÈS - MERCIER = *Hymnes de saint Éphrem conservées en version arménienne*, éd. L. MARIÈS et C. MERCIER, in: PO XXX,1. Paris 1962.
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- APHRĒM, *Hymni et sermones* I-IV, ed. LAMY = *Ephraemi Syri hymni et sermones*, ed. T. J. LAMY. Mechliniae 1882-92.
- APHRĒM, *In Genesim et Exodum commentarii*, ed. TONNEAU = *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et Exodum commentarii*, ed. R. M. TONNEAU, in: CSCO Scr. Syri LXXI. Louvain 1955.
- APHRĒM, *Opera omnia* I-III, ed. MOBARREK = *Ephraem Syri opera omnia quae extant* I-III, ed. P. MOBARREK. Romae 1737-43.
- APHRĒM, *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, ed. MITCHELL = *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan* I, ed. C. W. MITCHELL. London 1912. Vol. II, Completed by A. A. BEVAN and F. C. BURKITT. London 1921.
- APHRĒM, *Sermones duo*, ed. ZINGERLE = *Ephraemi Syri sermones duo*, ed. P. ZINGERLE. Brixen 1868.
- APHRĒM, *Le Testament*, éd. DUVAL = *Le Testament de S. Éphrem*, éd. R. DUVAL, in: JA IX, XVII(1901).
- Apocryphal Acts* I-II, ed. WRIGHT = *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* I-II, ed. W. WRIGHT. London 1871.
- ArchHDO = Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental.
- ArchMar = Archives Marocaines. Paris.
- ARMALET, *Catalogue* = I. ARMALET, *Catalogue des manuscrits de Charfet*. Jounieh 1936.
- ARMALET, *Couvents de Mardin* = I. ARMALET, *Couvents de Mardin*.
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- ASSEMANI, *Catalogus* = S. E. et J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliothecae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus* I-III. Romae 1758-59.
- ASSEMANI, *Catalogus Med. Laur.* = S. E. ASSEMANI, *Bibliothecae Mediceae*

- Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium catalogus*. Florentiae 1742.
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- BAR 'EBRĀYĀ, *Ethicon*, ed. BEDJAN = *Barhebraei Ethicon seu moralia*, ed. P. BEDJAN. Paris 1898.
- BAR 'EBRĀYĀ, *Nomocanon*, ed. BEDJAN = *Gregorii Barhebraei Nomocanon*, ed. P. BEDJAN. Parisiis 1898.
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- BiblaeH = Bibliothèque archéologique et historique. Paris.
- BibIHarm = Bibliothèque historique arménienne. Paris.
- AL-BIRUNI, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. SACHAU = AL-BIRUNI, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. SACHAU. London 1879.
- BISCIONE, *Bibliothecae Med. Laur. catalogus* = A. M. BISCIONE, *Bibliothecae Mediceo-Laurentianae catalogus*. Firenze 1752.
- BJRL = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*. Manchester.
- BLUM, *Rabbula von Edessa* = G. G. BLUM, *Rabbula von Edessa. Der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe*, in: CSCO Subs XXXIV. Louvain 1969.
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- Book of the Himyarites*, ed. MÖBERG = *Book of the Himyarites*, ed. A. MÖBERG. Lund 1920-24.
- The Book of the Holy Hierotheos*, ed. MARSH = *The Book which is Called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos With Extracts from the Prolegomena and Commentary of Theodosios of Antioch and from the «Book of Excerpts» and Other Works of Gregory Bar-Hebraeus*, ed. F. S. MARSH. London-Oxford 1927.
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I. THE EARLIEST SOURCES OF STIMULI FOR ASCETICISM

1. THE KETĀBĀ DE-MASQĀTĀ

a. *The Source*

This very extensive document in the ancient Syriac literature was made available in print as long ago as 1926¹, however, it did not find or receive the attention which it really deserved for a long time, and when it did, then only in connection with the Messalians (Euchites). But its real significance and contribution to church historical study was completely overlooked. This certainly lies elsewhere.

When the learned editor, Prof. Kmosko, was preparing this text² for publication, other exciting discoveries were moving the scholarly world. Villecourt found that certain passages in the «spiritual homilies» preserved under the name of Macarios coincided with the Messalian phrases quoted by Timotheos of Constantinople and John of Damascus. On the basis of these observations he came to the conclusion that all of the material ascribed to Macarios is of Messalian origin. These and subsequent studies³ provided the incentive for a new approach and created an expectation that the long lost Asceticon of the Messalians, known by name through the acts of the Ephesian Synod, could be recovered.

It certainly is not without significance that Kmosko's preparation for his edition fell within this period of excitement. These new winds, together with all that was in the air, could hardly have left a scholar working on this unknown ascetical work from an anonymous author untouched. Nor is it a cause for wonder that Kmosko, too, began to see positive connections between the *Ketābā de-masqātā* or the *Liber graduum* and the Messalian movement. He felt that the milieu suggested by this document pointed to an early stage in the development of this movement⁴.

¹ *Liber gradum*, ed. Kmosko.

² «La date et l'origine des 'Homélies spirituelles'», p. 250ff.

³ L'origine véritable des 'Homélies pneumatiques', p. 361ff.; «La fausse lettre latine de Macaire», p. 411ff.

⁴ «Hinc non est mirum in L.G. quoque inveniri semina eiusdem doctrinae perversae ex qua antinomismus periculosus Messalianorum germinavit», Praefatio, p. C.

All this is quite understandable. But it is surprising that in subsequent research his thesis was taken for granted and that this document was given attention only from this point of view. Rücker accepted Kmosko's views⁵. So, too, Kemmer⁶, Rothenhäusler⁷ and even Lietzmann all too quickly gave his imprimatur to such an assertion⁸. In the year 1935 Hausherr wrote an article on the date of the composition of this document in which he strengthened Kmosko's view by an apodictic statement: «Messalianismi aliquam speciem in Libro graduum exhiberi nemini dubium esse poterit»⁹. And this has been restated by the same scholar¹⁰. In a study published in 1938 he says: «L'encratisme du *Liber graduum* est messalien aussi bien que l'immoralisme que signale saint Jean Damascène et Théodoret»¹¹. These statements certainly are brave, but such assertions should have invited interrogation. But Kmosko's theory did not receive the critical re-examination it deserved. Indeed, it is strange that it was able to mesmerize scholars for such a long time. Belatedly even Gribomont has joined this company¹².

But then the interrogation came. In a closer study I have submitted all this free speculation to a scrutiny¹³. Its outcome was twofold. First of all, these assertions do not bear serious critical examination for there is nothing in the document of the doctrines ascribed to the Messalian movement. The facts do not need to be repeated here. The work itself is of another order, one of the oldest monuments of the Syriac literature, and it should be restored to the place of honor which belongs to it¹⁴.

That study, moreover, showed how a prevailing attitude prevented students from engaging in the real scholarly task, that of studying the source itself, of exploring the riches which this monumental work presents for church historical research and, in particular, the history of the earliest Syrian spirituality. This clearly ought to have weighed much more heavily in the scales than listening to the heresiologues¹⁵.

⁵ «Die Zitate aus dem Matthäusevangelium im syrischen 'Buche der Stufen', p. 342.

⁶ *Charisma maximum*, p. 32ff.

⁷ «Zur asketischen Lehrschrift des Diadochos», p. 536ff.

⁸ *Geschichte der alten Kirche* IV, p. 211ff.

⁹ «Quanam aetate prodierit 'Liber graduum'», p. 497.

¹⁰ «L'erreur fondamentale et la logique du Messalianisme», p. 497.

¹¹ «Le Messalianisme», p. 6.

¹² «Les Homélies ascétiques de Philoxène», p. 419ff.

¹³ «Liber graduum, Some Aspects of Its Significance for the History of Early Syrian Asceticism», p. 108ff.

¹⁴ It is surprising that this work does not appear in the handbook of patrology, ALTANER-STUIBER, *Patrologie*.

¹⁵ My study was published 34 years ago; 13 years later Guillaumont has devoted several

To be sure, the document radiates thoughts and ideas which are strange to the student who reads it with eyes accustomed to standards in western Christianity. However, in studying these texts one has not to forget that we stand in the midst of the milieu of the Syrian Orient, for the evaluation of which the standards of western thought simply do not apply. Quite apart from that, it is patent that the peculiar features in the document represent views and practices which were at home in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates, perspectives which give us opportunities to be studied and challenges to be met. Particularly since we are introduced to the earliest period of Syrian spirituality and asceticism, and also because such an undertaking means an advance on the frontiers of research.

The *Ketābā de-masqātā*, the Book of Degrees, is a very extensive work, one comprised of thirty *mēmre*. It has been preserved anonymously. The ancient editor of the text from whom the introduction has survived, did not know the name of the author of this work and therefore simply assumed that the author was «one of the last disciples of the apostles»¹⁶.

b. Its Physiognomy

Now it is time to take a preliminary look at the physiognomy of this source.

One of the most surprising features in the thought of the *Ketābā de-masqātā* is the distinction made between Christians; they are into two categories: the righteous ones and the perfect ones. A chapter has been devoted to the distinction of these two categories¹. The *kīnē*² «righteous ones» are those who have not overcome their love for visible things in the world. They remain therefore in the ordinary life which is ordered by God, but — it should be remembered — under the proviso that Adam had disobeyed the Creator's will. As a result, God gave them labor and worry and marriage³. For those Christians, there must be an awareness

years to the study of this source and has arrived at an analogous conclusion; see his «Situation et signification du *Liber graduum*». See also matter of fact comments in BÄSS, «Der Liber graduum ein Messalianisches Buch?», p. 368ff.

¹⁶ *Liber graduum*, col. 1.

¹ *Mēmra* XIV: «On the just and the perfect ones», col. 323.

² *ḳīnā* or also *ḳādīšē*, «the holy ones».

³ *Mēmra* XX, col. 541.

of the necessity for a sober balance in life. For this purpose, besides New Testament ethical admonitions, the document cites certain apocryphal sources quoted as Scripture. One such runs as follows: «Take heed that you do not possess in iniquity; and do not build in sin as if you were building for eternity or for an eternity you would possess, nor in prodigality to use the world — for the face of this world passes away»⁴.

Above the righteous one stands the *ihidāyā*⁵ «solitary». This category represents the perfect ones — *gemirē*⁶, constituting the spiritual elite. These are those who have made a covenant⁷ with the Lord and have become the «sons of the covenant»⁸. This fundamental concept of the distinction between the just and the perfect underlies the entire work. Indeed, the separation into two categories is so structural that it penetrates all areas: exegesis, Christian life, the concept of the church, sacraments, charismatic gifts, and future things. This phenomenon is so important that before proceeding to the thoughtworld of our source, it needs further elucidation.

How are we to explain this peculiar thought? To be sure, today one might gaze upon it as a curiosity. At first sight it looks as if the key to its understanding has been lost. It has even been suggested that this was due to a Manichaean influence⁹. However, that calls for caution. We know that Manichaeism itself has borrowed substantial elements from Syrian traditions and absorbed them during the period of its consolidation. In addition, the separation of believers into two categories in that system is of basal importance. To infer that Manichaean influence is visible in Syriac Christianity in this connection, rather than the other way around, is hazardous. Little is to be gained in chasing this circle.

The whole question takes on a new complexion when the effort is made to take its peculiar origin and traditions in the process of developing its own form of Christianity into account.

First of all, there is a historical fact which assists us in our inquiry. When we consult the documents of ancient Christianity in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia, we learn that the earliest stage in the pro-

⁴ *Mēmra* X, col. 260.

⁵ *ܝܚܕܝܐ*.

⁶ *ܕܡܝܪܐ*.

⁷ *ܡܝܪܐ*, *qeyāmā*.

⁸ *ܕܡܝܪܐ*.

⁹ HAUSHERR, «L'erreur fondamentale», p. 333.

clamation of the Christian message in the Syrian Orient was determined by spirits of quite different opinion concerning the nature of the gospel than that of the leading spirits who framed Christianity in the west. Under the influence of these powerful men a peculiar type of Christianity came into being. The message which was transplanted into the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates, and there found very receptive ground, was rigorously ascetic, and this mode of Christianity as it matured stimulated the growth of ascetically oriented movements. Among the powerful men who fostered this growth were Marcion, Tatian, Valentinus and several kinds of Encratites. The evidence for the expansion of these movements and of the significance of their role, has been submitted elsewhere¹⁰ and does not need to be reproduced here.

Just as important is the fact that, despite the multi-hued, variegated context and the variety of stimuli and movements which occupied the stage of the Syrian Orient, Christianity in the east did retain a fairly consistent character — it was structurally more or less homogenous insofar as the ascetic element and its application was concerned. These communities of the Near East, despite differences in religious and theological concepts and systems of thought, in the form of Scripture and in the variety of their practices, were in full agreement on the basic substructure, namely that the very essence of Christian life was ascetic. This was a fundamental factor which shaped the earliest Christian communities in these areas. The real congregation embodied «the spiritual mode of life» as an instrument which tended towards a negation of this world and towards the accomplishment of the cosmic upheaval. But for those who did not possess the courage to take on the whole burden of requirements, yet were interested in the Christian message, such persons were considered penitents, catechumens or as Christians of a subordinate order. Throughout the Syrian orbit, wherever Christianity took root, communities arose which rested on the principle of two distinct categories of Christians.

It is not necessary to bring evidence forward for the Church of Marcion¹¹, Tatian¹² or Valentinus¹³ because this would be a repetition

¹⁰ See the chapter «The Character of the Christian Message Which Molded Early Syrian Christianity» in my *Celibacy, a Requirement for Admission to Baptism in the Early Syrian Church*, p. 11-20. See also my *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* I, p. 62ff.

¹¹ HARNACK, *Marcion*.

¹² VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* I, p. 31ff.

¹³ MÜLLER, *Beiträge zum Verständnis der valentinianischen Gnosis*, p. 237f.

of things well known. But it must be mentioned that the same principle operated in other ancient Syrian groups whose theological orientations were different. Thus the environment in which the Pseudo-Clementine letters *De virginitate* originated shows a milieu thoroughly different in theological position, but completely identical with the above-mentioned groups at the level of this fundamental principle. This is evident in the Syriac¹⁴, as well as in the more recently found Coptic¹⁵, version. The community of Christians is called the «city of God», the «house» and the «temple» in which God lives¹⁶, and consists of the ascetic elite, a class of spiritual athletes who on earth traversed the cities and villages carrying out their evangelistic enterprise. But all others are only «companions» and «neighbors»¹⁷.

Further light comes from a quite unexpected quarter. A very valuable piece of an historically important ancient Syrian baptismal liturgy, preserved in the seventh homily of ʿAphrahat, the Persian sage, needs to be cited. Here texts confront us which have puzzled scholars since their publication. As I have already shown elsewhere¹⁸, they go back to a very primitive Mesopotamian liturgy of baptism. These text portions uncover the same ancient principle: the congregation consists of ascetics who alone receive baptism and alone partake of the Eucharist. Alongside of these Christians there are the penitents or adherents who remain outside, who marry, build homes and plant vineyards but do not belong to the body of the church and therefore cannot partake of the sacramental life¹⁹.

As a liturgical source, such a document in particular is to be welcomed for our inquiry. It allows us to look into the heart of primitive

¹⁴ *Epistolae binae de virginitate*, ed. BEELEN.

¹⁵ ὅτι γὰρ ἡνεσιόυρ μνημπαρέενος νόυμα ἐφσότη ῥῖνεφνει ἐσῃρε
 ριψερε· ἐφσότη παρανентаύωσπε ῥῖμπαμος ἐτταεῖνυ μῖπμα νηκοτκ
 ἐττβῃνυ. πρῶυτε νατ ἡνεταγααυ ἡσιόυρ· ἡμῖν ἡμοοῦ μνημπαρέενος
 νόυμῃτερῶ νάττωαμ ἡτεναγεαλος. ριτῃτεῖνοβ ἡζομολογια, «For he gives
 in his home a place more excellent than sons and daughters to eunuchs and virgins; for they
 are more excellent than those who dwell in honorable marriage and in a pure bed, God will
 give an incorruptible kingdom of angels to those who have made themselves eunuchs, and
 to virgins, because of this great witness», «Le 'De virginitate' de S. Clément ou de
 S. Athanase?», éd., LEFORT, p. 256.

¹⁶ *De virginitate* I, 9, ed. BEELEN, p. 40.

¹⁷ **መጠቀሚያ**, *ibid.*, p. 2, 4.

¹⁸ *Celibacy, a Requirement for Admission to Baptism*, p. 55ff.

¹⁹ *Demonstratio*, ed. PARISOT, col. 341, 344f.

Christianity, at vital moments, moments intended to test the soul of the candidate's desire for baptism and to see whether his determination to enter upon Christian life was made of steel or lesser stuff. The textual portions outline this life of the Christian ascetic with unmistakable clarity when they say: «The contest (applies only) to the solitary ones, because their faces are set for that which is before them, and they do not remember anything that lies behind them»²⁰. It is spoken of again in another admonition as trial and testing: «The struggle (applies only) to him who renounces himself, because he does not remember anything which is behind him and does not retreat to it»²¹. It is made clear that this «struggle» involves life without marriage and without possessions; it is a life in privation and asceticism. This, then, is the «contest»²². The term appears repeatedly; it became a key word in describing the true Christian life, together with the word «struggle.»

Other sources suggest the same underlying concept and they reach us via the stream of hagiographical traditions. It is also very possible that such archaic traditions as the concept of baptism in the specific sense of initiation into the ascetic life have been embedded in younger traditions²³.

This review of the sources makes it manifest how deeply the principle of the two categories of Christians has penetrated Christian thought and life in the most ancient Syrian communities, whether heterodox or orthodox. Here we have before us a concept which, historically speaking, has played an utterly significant role. Everything that we are permitted to see in these documents leads to this conclusion. It is difficult to resist the feeling that this was a phenomenon at once too powerful and too vital to be eradicated by reform attempts intended to make the sacramental means of grace available to all Christians, in conformity with the practice in the west. Indeed, this conclusion is strengthened by the observation that this archaic principle actually continued to live in many a circle,

²⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 341.

²¹ *Ibid.*, col. 345.

22 *Kayk.*

[illegible]

Further, life does not permit itself to be pressed into stereotyped ritualistic forms. A living force always finds ways to continue its existence, even if under the pressure of external circumstances, ties with the past must be cut. The view is coherent and it demands no great effort of mind to understand that it characterized ascetically oriented Christianity.

On the basis of a careful induction of the several strands of evidence, we have been prepared for a conclusion of first importance. It has become clear that even after the liturgical practices were changed, and baptism and eucharist made available to every Christian, the deeply rooted distinction between the two categories of Christians could not be entirely eliminated. The most vital part of this type of Christianity could never agree to equate itself with other forms and to abandon convictions for which they had been and still were willing to give their lives. This sector most certainly must have found itself compelled to find new ways for consolidating itself in the new situation. Indeed, such a reaction is the one that one would normally expect if the information in the Syrian sources is taken into consideration.

While the sources do not tell us as much as we would want to know and leave too much unsaid, it is natural and inevitable that guess work or supposition have to play a role in interpretation. But it is certainly regrettable when these guesses and suppositions are not controlled by documents. Fortunately in our inquiry we do not need depend from suppositions along. It is the merit of the *Ketābā de-masqātā* to provide us with a realistic glimpse, not only of the feelings and reactions involved in the new phase in the Syrian churches, but also to learn something of the reorientation and consolidation of the spiritual forces in a Christianity which could no longer hold to its archaic past. When the mists begin to clear, we notice strong resistance on the part of the ancient Syrian traditions, a fact which in itself is an indication that we are on the correct track. Advanced development had become a fact, the ordinary believers were admitted to the sacramental life and thus to full church membership. But the ascetically oriented forces knew how to carry forth their archaic and fundamental principle, adapted to the new situation. Though the archaic stream was discolored by the historic media through which it had to pass, in substance it remained the same. As so this document unfolds before our eyes a very important phase in the spiritual history of Syriac Christianity in the period after the transition together with its

implications. A tenacious spirit of resistance is revealed over against the invading Christian Hellenism.

Those whom the author of the *Ketābā de-masqātā* calls «perfect» corresponds very appropriately to the category of the believers within the church who have made the *qeyāmā*⁴¹ «covenant» with the Lord⁴² and who thereafter have lived in the state of absolute renunciation. They are the «sons of the covenant»⁴³.

c. *Its Thoughtworld*

Since the entire thoughtworld of this document rests on the basic distinction between two categories of Christians, that involves in turn two sets of ordinances for these Christians. Although God wants all men to attain perfection, the road towards that goal is full of difficulties and perils. Therefore, in accord with the strength and abilities available to them, the *kinē* «the righteous ones» have to follow rules which are inferior, called «commandments of faith» or «little commandments»¹. These rules² are moral and cultic regulations³ and involve deeds of mercy⁴. The behavior and conduct of «the righteous» are governed by the golden rule which was known to the author in both forms, in the negative form:⁵ «What you hate do not do to your neighbor»⁶ and in the positive form: «Whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them»⁷. The observation of these ordinances leads to justice or righteousness⁸ and therefore also to holiness⁹.

The perfect ones enter a higher level. They follow the great com-

⁴¹ ܩܝܡܐ.

⁴² *Mēmrā* XIX,2, col. 452₃.

⁴³ ܩܝܡܐ ܕܒܪܐ, *Mēmrā* X,9, col. 265₁₉.

¹ *Mēmrā* I-II, col. 12ff.; *Mēmrā* XIV, col. 324ff. which is devoted to this subject.

² *Mēmrā* I, col. 16, 312f.

³ These deeds are described in the light of Matth. XXV,34-36, *Mēmrā* III, col. 49.

⁴ ܩܕܝܩܘܬܐ, *zadiqūtā*.

⁵ Matth. VII,12.

⁶ This form appears in the *Didascalia apostolorum*, ed. VÖÖBUS I, and also in 'Aphrēm and Aphrahā; the rendering may go back to the Diatessaron.

⁷ *Mēmrā*, col. 148₄₋₅; *Mēmrā* VII, col. 176₁₀₋₁₁; *Mēmrā* XV, col. 376₂₋₄, and *Mēmrā* XXII, col. 653₂₆-656₁.

⁸ ܩܕܝܩܘܬܐ, *kinūtā*.

⁹ ܩܕܝܩܘܬܐ, *qadišūtā*.

mandments¹⁰ or the «commandments of love.» The second *mēmrā* which deals with the perfect ones brings a collection of these rules classified as higher norms¹¹ taken mainly from the Sermon on the Mount. These decrees go beyond the great commandments as is illustrated by the use of the gospel injunctions¹²: to love the neighbor as oneself¹³, and also as expressed through a logion different in form than customarily known: «To love his neighbor more than oneself»¹⁴. The observance of these commands leads to perfection¹⁵.

The strength of the righteous ones does not reach the level of the imitation of the Lord. That remains the privilege of the perfect ones: their goal is to take up the cross of the Lord. Moreover, the gospel injunctions are supported by additional arguments which bring out that imitation of the Lord more emphatically. Support comes from a logion taken from an apocryphal source: «Whoever does not take up his cross and walk in my footsteps and in my manners ...»¹⁶ The entire Christian outlook is wholly dominated by this central idea of imitation¹⁷ as another similar logion shows plainly: «Who takes up his cross and follows me and imitates me»¹⁸. Even an agraphon is introduced: «I will make an example to my disciples that they do as I»¹⁹. The perfect ones become imitators of Jesus' life, a life lived in complete privation.

While the righteous ones remain in the world, the perfect ones have taken up the «perfect cross»²⁰ in order to follow Christ, to follow the rules of absolute renouncement of the world: «We abandon everything and we walk in the humility of our Lord and his privation»²¹. They renounce family ties²², marriage²³, and «all the commerce of the

¹⁰ *Mēmrā* I, col. 12ff.; *Mēmrā* XIV, col. 324ff.

¹¹ *Mēmrā* I, col. 26ff.

¹² *Mēmrā* XVI, col. 388ff.

¹³ Matth. XX,39.

¹⁴ The Letter of Barnabas XIX,5.

¹⁵ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, *gemīrūtā*.

¹⁶ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, ܡܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, *Mēmrā* XX, col. 569¹⁵⁻¹⁶.

¹⁷ *Mēmrā* III, col. 66; *Mēmrā* X, col. 268; *Mēmrā* XIV, col. 327.

¹⁸ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, ܡܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, *Mēmrā* III, col. 56¹⁻²; cf. *Mēmrā* XXX, col. 920¹⁹⁻²⁰.

¹⁹ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, ܡܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, *Mēmrā* II, col. 29.

²⁰ *Mēmrā* VII, col. 141.

²¹ *Mēmrā* I, col. 16.

²² *Mēmrā* XI, col. 475⁷⁻¹⁰; *Mēmrā* XXX, col. 920²².

²³ Before all else the solitary is a virgin.

world»²⁴. In the *mēmrā* «On the bodily and spiritual ministry» it is said: «So whosoever carries his hidden cross, separates himself from the ground and from its tilling, and from every labor and from every solicitude»²⁵. As such, they have «abandoned the earth»²⁶ and become «strangers»²⁷ and «aliens»²⁸ to it.²⁹ The perfect disciple who renounces the world becomes an *ihidāyā*, «a solitary»³⁰, a term³¹ which in the earliest times implies³² abandonment of one's family, especially one's wife³³. They have left their homes in order to undertake a wandering life according to the example of the master who had «no place where to rest his head»³⁴. *Peregrinatio* becomes the hallmark of their life. They wander around in deserts, on mountains, and on cold days they appear at the door of believers and expect something to eat from them³⁵. They possess no more than the «garment and food for the day»³⁶. However, a spiritual meaning is also carried with it — so that the «solitary» lives in the society, making a physical withdrawal no obligation.

The righteous ones have three fundamental obligations: fasting, prayer and alms. The work insists on the positive importance of these ascetic practices which involve the body as well as the soul³⁷, even demanding fasting in its physical sense³⁸. Stress is laid upon the fact that they are obliged to practice charity in order to fulfil that which is related in the gospel for those who are called «blessed of the Father»³⁹.

²⁴ *Mēmrā* III,10, col. 68.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 68.

²⁶ *Mēmrā* XV,16, col. 374.

²⁷ ܢܚܝܐ, *nūkrāyē*.

²⁸ ܐܟܨܢܐܝܐ, *'aksnāyē*, ξένος.

²⁹ *Mēmrā* V,18, col. 132f.

³⁰ ܥܡܪܐ, «single one», or «the one being alone».

³¹ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* I, p. 106ff.

³² BECK, «Ein Beitrag zur Terminologie des ältesten syrischen Mönchtums», p. 254ff.

³³ *Mēmrā* XXV, col. 737. About the farfetched theory that the Syriac term roots in theological meaning, see ADAM, «Grundbegriffe des Mönchtums in sprachlicher Sicht», p. 209ff. In this respect the logion 16 in the Gospel of Thomas throws significant light: «There will be three against two and two against three; the father against the son and the son against the father, and they will stand alone (μοναχός)».

³⁴ Cf. Matth. VIII,20, *Mēmrā* XV,13, col. 365ff.

³⁵ *Mēmrā* XIII, col. 312.

³⁶ *Mēmrā* XIII, col. 317; cf. *Mēmrā* XVI, col. 401.

³⁷ *Mēmrā* X, col. 253²⁶-256⁶.

³⁸ *Mēmrā* XX, col. 557²¹.

³⁹ Namely Matth. XXV,34, *Mēmrā* II,2, col. 48f.; *Mēmrā* III,10, col. 65.

However, the religious life of the perfect ones moves on entirely different level. Illustrative of it is the support adduced from an apocryphal source⁴⁰ where the promise of Christ regarding «the place of my rest»⁴¹ supplements the gospel logion. Now all activities of the perfect ones are marked by interiorization and spiritualization. Their fasting is no longer confined, as in the case of the righteous ones, to fixed days and to refraining from food, but consists of continence which is universal — fasting is abstinence total in character. In describing this, our document uses a special term. This disposition is described by the phrase «fasting to the world»⁴² which in an interesting way is related to a text in the Gospel of Thomas⁴³. There is no question about its meaning. The term «world» is figuratively understood to mean evil. Beyond the various kinds of fasting, which also includes from solid foods, there is a higher form of fasting for perfect disciples — to remove from all evils⁴⁴. That is «fasting to the world». Another passage is expressed more precisely as «fasting from the world and its delight»⁴⁵.

Prayer, too, is not limited to certain hours as in the case of the righteous ones, but is continuous⁴⁶.

The charity of the perfect ones, since they have nothing material to give to others, is entirely of a spiritual kind. They must become the sources of great love for all men, founded upon extreme humility. Their behavior is governed by forgiveness, humility and kindness. Having become free of all worldly cares and worries, the perfect ones can devote themselves entirely to their true calling, namely to preach, to teach the people, to inspire those who have the desire for a higher calling and to pray for the people.

This leads our inquiry to still another dimension in the distinction between these two categories. The spiritual élan is contingent upon the

⁴⁰ As fulfillment of the promise to give «judgement and rest», *Mēmra* XXVI, col. 61⁶⁰⁹.

⁴¹ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, *Mēmra* XX, col. 565²⁰⁻²¹, as a supplement to John XIV,23.

⁴² ܡܡܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, *Mēmra* XV,16, col. 373¹⁸⁻¹⁹; 373²³⁻²⁴, and *Mēmra* XXXIX,6, col. 828¹²⁻¹³; the rendering in the transitive construction agrees with the logion of Oxyrhynchus I,2. About this double form of the formulations, see GUILLAUMONT, «Νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον», p. 15ff.

⁴³ Logion 27: «If you do not fast to the world, you will not find the kingdom». Cf. BAKER, «Fasting to the World», p. 291ff.

⁴⁴ *Mēmra* XXIX, col. 824¹⁹⁻²⁰.

⁴⁵ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, *Mēmra* IV, col. 89²⁴⁻²⁵.

⁴⁶ *Mēmra* VII,20, col. 184f.

measure of the spirit which each category receives. The righteous ones have a limited measure of the spirit. They experience the spirit that reckons with their limited capacity and therefore can give them only weaker food. This is illustrated by the Pauline word about the spirit as a guarantee, namely as *'urbānā de-rūḥā*⁴⁷ expressed in an interesting formulation⁴⁸. For the author, this certainly represents the Pauline logion about the spirit⁴⁹. It clearly denotes the limited measure of the spirit⁵⁰.

For the perfect, the spirit is no longer available in the form of the *'urbānā de-rūḥā* for they have received the fullness of the spirit — the greatest of all the gifts⁵¹, the spirit of the Paraclete⁵², the spirit that makes them free⁵³. As a result, they can live «in the house of the Father» fully liberated in the realm of freedom.

While the righteous ones need the guidance of the perfect ones, the perfect need no such intermediaries since they have direct access to God. While they live bodily in this world, their mind and spirit converses in the spiritual realm in the presence of God⁵⁴.

These observations lead to the conception of the church. The righteous ones need the church with all its sacraments, with baptism and with the eucharist therein dispensed. The visible church, established by the Lord, is «the blessed mother which educates all children»⁵⁵. The ecclesiastical institutions, the altar, baptism and priesthood go back to the same divine source. However, the visible church has a serious limitation: it is not the field for the operation of the Paraclete⁵⁶.

⁴⁷ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ is a term which Kmosko did not understand.

⁴⁸ The term in fact is a Hebrew vocabulary ערבון (cf. Gen. XXXVIII,17, 18, 20) in Arabic عربون *'arabūn*. This Semitic term, probably through the intermediary of the Phoenician slipped into the Greek under the form ἄρραβών. This ancient Semitic vocabulary has been replaced by the transcription by the Greek vocabulary and has become the usual term in Syriac. See GUILLAUMONT, «Les 'arrhes de l'Esprit' dans le *Livre des Degrés*», p. 107ff.

⁴⁹ Cf. II Cor. I,22; V,5.

⁵⁰ *Mēmra* III, col. 72⁶⁻¹³.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, col. 72.

⁵² «Therefore no one receives the Paraclete as long as he serves bodily when his (status of) taking and giving and his mind is bound on earth», *Mēmra* III, col. 76.

⁵³ «And when the Paraclete comes, man knows the whole truth, then little by little fear is lifted entirely from him and then he is freed», *Mēmra* V, col. 136; cf. col. 141.

⁵⁴ *Mēmra* XV,18, col. 382.

⁵⁵ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, *Mēmra* XII, col. 292.

⁵⁶ The document refers to the seven deacons in the Book of Acts among whom only one received the Paraclete, namely Stephen who left the office of caring for worldly things, *Mēmra* III, col. 77.

Over against the visible church, its altar and its institutions, there is a spiritual church and altar before which the angels worship with all the saints and Christ himself as priest⁵⁷. This is the sphere in which the Paraclete works and this church as a result is «the mother of all the living and perfected ones.»⁵⁸. In this church, an invisible baptism takes place with the gift of the Spirit as does invisible communion⁵⁹. Entry into the invisible church is entry into the spiritual home of Christians on the level of perfection. They are absorbed through the illumination of the Spirit. In this respect, too, the *Liber graduum* draws from very ancient Syrian sources⁶⁰. The perfect are initiated into all the heavenly mysteries. In citing a canonical text⁶¹ regarding the heavenly secrets, this supplement is added: «He will understand the power of my mysteries»⁶². Thus the perfect ones enter the realm of the mysteries and of all knowledge of the secrets⁶³. The Spirit reveals the entire truth, the mysteries of heaven, since the perfect already live in this celestial sphere⁶⁴.

Our source can tell us even more about this spiritual realm. The reception of the spirit of the Paraclete, the spirit of fullness, is described as an event which is a new baptism. «A baptism with fire and spirit» introduces the perfect ones to the celestial church which is «the church of the heart»⁶⁵, far above the visible church. It restitutes the status in which Adam was before his fall and opens access to «the tree of life»⁶⁶. Although the solitary lives on earth, in the spirit he lives in the celestial places and has reached a status like the angels⁶⁷. Here our source displays a conception which differs from everything that has commonly

⁵⁷ *Mēmrā* XII, col. 288: «... is revealed to us the church of heaven, and the altar of the Spirit, and we offer on it confession by prayer of our hearts, col. 289, 292.

⁵⁸ *ܡܡܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ*, *Mēmrā* XII, col. 293.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 296.

⁶⁰ *The Odes of Solomon*, ed. HARRIS-MINGANA, p. 12. The Spirit produces «an illuminated Son of God», *Ode* XXXVI,1, *ibid.*, 78.

⁶¹ John XIV, 15ff.

⁶² *Mēmrā* XV, col. 376²⁰⁻²².

⁶³ «Then the Lord opens to him heavenly doors and he enters and is made glad by the riches of mysteries», *Mēmrā* VI, col. 144; *Mēmrā* VIII, col. 197; light appears to them, *Mēmrā* XII, col. 289, and «they see the Lord in the mirror in their hearts», *Mēmrā* XIV, col. 328.

⁶⁴ *Mēmrā* VI,2, col. 141; *Mēmrā* XV,18, col. 381.

⁶⁵ *ܡܡܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ*, *Mēmrā* XII,4, col. 293, 296.

⁶⁶ *Mēmrā* XX,7, col. 544.

⁶⁷ *Mēmrā* XV,3, col. 341.

been understood⁶⁸. The way of the perfect one «leads to the house of the Lord and to his bridal chamber»⁶⁹ he enters in»⁷⁰, a logion which reminds us of a logion in the Gospel of Thomas⁷¹.

d. The Value of the Source

As this study has shown, the *Ketābā de-masqātā* deserves our exceptional interest. It is one of the most ancient works which has come to us from ancient Syriac literature devoted to the subject of spiritual life and asceticism. As such it is a very precious source about the very archaic spirituality in Christendom in Mesopotamia. It unfolds pneumatic mysticism, characteristic of the archaic Syrian spirituality indigenous to Mesopotamian Christianity. It is an exceptional opportunity to be permitted to here so deep a glimpse into such an important phase in the history of spirituality in the lands washed by the Tigris and the Euphrates — in a document whose antiquity and content make it an incomparable source, valuable beyond price for its contribution to our knowledge of archaic Syrian spirituality.

It is a matter of profound regret that questions regarding the origin and circumstances of a work as the *Ketābā de-masqātā* must remain enshrouded in darkness. Internal evidence is virtually absent. The author refers several times to a persecution of which he seems to be a contemporary. Kmosko assumes these persecutions to have been those which took place under Diocletianus from which it would follow that the work must have been composed around 320¹. He assumed that the author lived in Roman territory. This is quite possible. But neither is it impossible that the author lived in Persian territory² in which case references would point to the persecutions which took place under Šāhpūr³. This question must remain open due to lack of evidence.

Other assumptions which have been made regarding the age and origin

⁶⁸ The Spirit as a guarantee was understood only as an anticipatory participation and only partial since the gift in full can be given only in the heavenly kingdom.

⁶⁹ *ܡܡܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ*.

⁷⁰ *Mēmrā* XIX, col. 513¹².

⁷¹ Logion 75: «Many are standing at the door, but the solitaries are (the) only ones who will enter the bridal chamber».

¹ Praefatio, p. CL.

² Here a reference to the Little Zab, a tributary to the Tigris, *Mēmrā* XXX,14, col. 895 could be interpreted in this way; however, not too much importance can be ascribed to it.

³ These persecutions lasted for a long time, namely from the year 339 until 379.

of this document are entirely worthless. Hausherr's assertion that it must be placed after 'Aphrēm is entirely arbitrary⁴. His other assertion that the date of its origin must be earlier than the adoption of the Pešittā cannot help us inasmuch as he presumed to know more about the origin of the Pešittā and its role in the textual history of the New Testament⁵ than the facts can support⁶.

In conclusion it is safe to say that the *Ketābā de-masqātā* is one of the most ancient monuments in Syriac literature, perhaps even the most ancient of major works.

2. THE TAḤWYĀTĀ OF 'APHRAHAṬ

a. The Source

The treatises¹ of which the first ten were completed by 'Aphrahaṭ in the year 337 and the succeeding twelve in the year 344, constitute as a corpus one of the oldest monuments in the history of Syrian spirituality. He called his treatises *taḥwāyātā*² «demonstrations». They are devoted to principle aspects of the spiritual life together with several other subjects not directly related to the issues of spirituality.

This collection was supplemented by another treatise which deals with the symbolical treatment of the Old Testament history under the title «On the Grape». Also this is dated — it was written in the year 345.

The tradition regarding the literary legacy of 'Aphrahaṭ has been beset with confusion. Already Gennadius made a wrong start³, ascribing the works of 'Aphrahaṭ to Ja'qōb, bishop of Nisibis⁴. Thus the greater part of the treatises, altogether nineteen treatises have survived in an ancient Armenian version⁵.

Be it also mentioned in passing that one treatise, namely the fifth, has emerged in an Ethiopic version⁶.

⁴ «*Quanam aetate prodierit 'Liber Graduum'?*», p. 495ff.

⁵ VÖÖBUS, *Studies in the Gospel Text in Syriac I*, p. 46ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II.

¹ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 30f.

² ܬܚܘܝܬܐ.

³ *De viris illustribus*, ed. RICHARDSON, p. 1.

⁴ See page 27.

⁵ *Jacobi, ep. Nisibeni sermones*, ed. ANTONELLI.

⁶ Ed. PEREIRA, in; *Festschrift Nöldeke*.

b. Salient Ideas

'Aphrahaṭ begins his work with a treatise on faith¹ stating «that the faith is put together from many things and decorated with many colors»² and that this is what his undertaking is intended to explain. He emphasizes that faith is the foundation upon which the entire development towards spiritual maturity in the movement towards perfection is based³. He states: «As soon as a man believes, he loves, and as soon as he loves, he hopes, and as soon as he hopes, he will be righteous, and as soon as he is righteous, he will be completed, and as soon as he is completed, he will be perfect»⁴. Drawing upon the reservoir of strength in the Scriptures, 'Aphrahaṭ makes his point of departure as strong as possible.

'Aphrahaṭ allows us a glimpse into the spiritual milieu of his time when he states: «In our time there are such ones who elect themselves to become solitaries, ascetics and saints»⁵. The term which he uses here is *ihidāyā*⁶ and *qadišā*. In another place the term *'abilā* also emerges⁷. Regrettably, 'Aphrahaṭ does not happen to address the question whether these individuals espoused the ascetic life within the precincts of civilization or fled the world for the life of loneliness in desolate places. In his treatises no hint to the effect that these ascetics left the communities of fellow Christians to go into the deserts or into the mountains is to be found. In this respect, we are left with a picture which is at once as dim as it is hazy. Deductions in favor of the one or the other alternative ultimately rest upon an argumentum e silentio.

With regard to ascetic practices and manners, 'Aphrahaṭ's account gives us a relatively clear picture. Among these, fasting occupies a vital place. Indeed, an especial treatise is devoted to fasting. 'Aphrahaṭ entitles it: «Pure fasting before God»⁸. 'Aphrahaṭ describes the benefits of fasting as a «weapon against evil and a shield which repels»⁹ the arrows.

¹ *Dem.*, I,1.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, I,2.

⁵ *Dem.*, VII,11.

⁶ ܬܚܘܝܬܐ, Adam's theory, see his «Grundbegriffe des Mönchtums in sprachlicher Sicht», p. 209ff., must be rejected since the Syriac term has nothing to do with the concept of μοναχενής, cf. John I,14.

⁷ ܐܒܝܠܐ, *Dem.*, VI,6, col. 265.

⁸ *Dem.*, III,1.

⁹ *Lit.*: «receives».

of the enemy»¹⁰. For 'Aphrahaṭ, however, this term is all encompassing¹¹, the quintessence of true life dedicated to God: fasting not only involves abstinence from food and drink, meat and wine, but also incorporates holiness and virginity, the abdication of things of the world as well as grieving and mourning. Regarding the latter, mourning, he states: «Another is fasting when he becomes sad in order that he might please to the Lord in affliction»¹². The concept of fasting in 'Aphrahaṭ is so comprehensive that it even embraces obedience to ethical obligations.

True prayer for 'Aphrahaṭ was interpreted in terms of a pure sacrifice¹³. The power of the prayer is forcefully presented as the source of encouragement and of enthusiasm supported by the rich testimony of the scriptural sources.

Among ascetic practices, vigils are especially mentioned. The ascetics are exhorted to awaken again and again, to watch, to sing and to pray whenever sleep threatened to overcome them¹⁴.

Other spiritual qualities pertinent to the life of the ascetics and certain virtues are treated in treatises separately devoted to them¹⁵. Other requirements, too, were necessary for the proper conduct of the ascetics¹⁶. Even in attitude, their way of life had to make their devotion and consecration visible, for example, avoiding laughter and a gay mood¹⁷. These ascetic figures are introduced as athletes¹⁸ and their ethos characterized by such concepts as «struggle, contest, fight and war against the enemy».

The most excellent virtue, however, is virginity, an issue which had become all the more acute because of the slander and reviling emanating from Jews¹⁹. 'Aphrahaṭ presents his position in very clear terms: «The virgin life is much more excellent and more pleasant before God»²⁰. He strengthens his position by the dictum that virginity is «the heavenly lot,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Dem.*, III,1.

¹² ܡܠܟܐ ܡܝܢ ܝܥܘܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ, col. 100.

¹³ *Dem.*, IV,1.

¹⁴ *Dem.*, IV,1, col. 256.

¹⁵ *Dem.*, II is on love, *Dem.*, IX is on humility, *Dem.*, XVIII is on holiness, and *Dem.*, XX is on charity.

¹⁶ It is not proper to make use of decorated cloth, finery of garments, adornment of the hair, aromatic oils and attendance of dinner parties, *Dem.*, VI,8.

¹⁷ *Dem.*, IV,1, col. 272f.

¹⁸ *Dem.*, IV,1, col. 265.

¹⁹ This tenet has brought conflicts with the Jews, *Dem.*, XVIII.

²⁰ *Dem.*, XVIII,5.

the fellowship of the angels of the heaven — for there is nothing that is like unto it»²¹. As over against marriage which has its purpose in the procreation of children but which has no ethical or spiritual value, virginity is the way for a true Christian life. What is really involved in this issue is revealed in 'Aphrahaṭ's exegesis of the passage in Genesis about the man who in taking a wife leaves father and mother, puts this issue into sharp relief²². In his interpretation of the passage, his estimate of marriage and its totally negative character, is brilliantly described in a way which puts the issue with all the clarity one could desire. His text deserves to be quoted in extenso: «Why does he leave his father and mother? This is the explanation: 'As long as a man has not taken a wife, he loves and honors God, his Father and the Holy Spirit, his mother, and he has no other love; and when someone has taken a wife, he leaves the Father and the Mother, mentioned above, and his mind will be seized by this world, and his mind and his heart and his thoughts will be drawn away from God into the world'»²³. Given such a perspective, it is only to be expected that the person and the life of Jesus would confirm this position: «This is suitable for the solitaires, for those, who have taken the heavenly yoke on themselves and are disciples of Christ — for it is fitting for the disciples of Christ that they are similar to their master Christ»²⁴.

'Aphrahaṭ entreats the ascetics to recognize what an excellent advantage they have elected for themselves: «For it is beautiful, my dear one, that (the one) who carries the yoke of Christ, keeps it in purity»²⁵. They really have to realize how great a relief it is to have received such a gift through their decision: «And all these who are betrothed to Christ, are far from the law and freed from the punishments of the daughters of Eve»²⁶. The bliss which now devolves upon them in fact is indescribable: «The Only One²⁷ from the bosom of the Father, gladdens all the solitaires»²⁸. It is with the rapture of great profundity that 'Aphrahaṭ describes this bliss: «All the pure virgins who have betrothed themselves

²¹ *Dem.*, VI,15.

²² Genesis II,24.

²³ *Dem.*, XVIII,10, col. 840.

²⁴ *Dem.*, VI,8.

²⁵ *Dem.*, VI,4.

²⁶ *Dem.*, VI,7.

²⁷ John I,14.

²⁸ *Dem.*, VI,7.

The covenant character of the self-dedication of the ascetics is here brought to the fore, and the decision for a life in perfection occurs within this heavily-laden religious atmosphere.

Still more can be elicited about the imagery connected with these decisive moments. It becomes evident via the biblical typology, as developed by 'Aphrahaṭ, to substantiate the foregoing, most especially in the episode of Gideon⁶. The episode, even in Origen⁷ had already been employed as a kind of mystery prefiguring the severity of the testing and the covenant character of the decision made by the ascetics, obviously connected originally with baptism open only to the ascetic elite. 'Aphrahaṭ writes: «Also, when he had proved them by water, of ten thousand only three hundred men were elected to engage in the battle; moreover, this agrees with the word that our Lord spoke: 'Many are called and few are chosen'»⁸. Thus in the quoted sections the act of baptism characterized by the mystery drawn from the episode of Gideon, demonstrates that only a few passed this trial, whereas the great majority was left behind. It is also striking that baptism itself is called «the water of proof»⁹. The same idea is reiterated: «Everyone who is valiant — the water proves him»¹⁰.

d. Church Historical Perspectives

Since the spiritual content of the treatises of 'Aphrahaṭ is enshrouded in phenomena which have been found to be enigmatic and puzzling and have created misunderstanding and confusion about the position of the ascetics in the church of 'Aphrahaṭ, it is as inevitable as it is necessary to deal with church historical perspectives in this connection.

The treatises of 'Aphrahaṭ present us with materials of deep religious and spiritual content but unfortunately the study of them has been diverted by the several questions which have been raised¹.

⁶ Judges VII, 3ff.

⁷ Homilae in Jude; Origen understands those excluded as those who remain catechumens; regarding those who passed the test, Origen writes: «Trecenti ergo soli qui sacramenti huius imaginem praeformabant, isti electi, isti probati, isti ad victoriam consecrati, qui ex ipso numeri sacramento obtinere adversarios possunt», MIGNE, XII, 951-990.

⁸ *Dem.*, VII, 19, col. 344f.

⁹ *Dem.*, VII, 18, col. 344.

¹⁰ *حدسلي حتره جمع له*, *ibid.*, col. 344.

¹ VÖÖBUS, «Die Anweisungen von 'Aphrahaṭ», p. 152ff.

One problem became a source of confusion long ago, namely, to whom do these ascetics, designated *benai qeyāmā* and *bart qeyāmā* refer? Already the publication of the critical edition of the treatises of 'Aphrahaṭ gave a misleading impression that they are monks. The title *De monachis* which Parisot gave to the treatise on the *benai qeyāmā*², indeed, is very misleading. In this connection, one must also mention the fact that the Armenian version of the treatises of 'Aphrahaṭ is very careful in its rendering of the term *benai qeyāmā*, avoiding the term «monk» by using a word which means «devout»³.

Another problem which has created discussion and controversy concerns the rite of baptism⁴. The crucial question is this, whether in the church of 'Aphrahaṭ baptism was the sole prerogative of ascetics or whether it belonged to all church people in general. In this respect the treatises of 'Aphrahaṭ have been found to be disappointing by those students who have approached this document in the expectation of finding very specific information about the practices of this ascetic institution. However, the homiletical and paraenetical language is so predominant that very little room is left for the concrete data in which research is interested.

To repeat, the problem centers on the question: who were the «solitaries», the members of the *qeyāmā*⁵ and what exactly was their position⁶? These are the problems which provoked the controversy which has plagued scholars. It all began when Burkitt published his theory with its far-reaching consequence, namely, that the Christian community according to 'Aphrahaṭ consisted only of baptized celibates to which a wider body of adherents, not members, was attached⁷. This hypothesis was accepted by such scholars as von Harnack⁸, Ficker⁹ and Plooiij¹⁰. But there were those who remained suspicious. Connolly opposed this interpretation¹¹. Some like Schwen,

² *Dem.*, II, col. 239.

³ *միսնաւորք*, *Sermones*, ed. ANTONELLI, p. 203.

⁴ DUNCAN, *Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates*.

⁵ NAGEL, «Zum problem der Bundessöhne», p. 152ff.

⁶ JANSMA, «Aphraates Demonstration VII, 18 and 20», p. 21ff.

⁷ *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 127.

⁸ *Mission und Ausbreitung*, p. 692.

⁹ TLZ, XXXII (1907), p. 432f.

¹⁰ «Aphrahat's Kirche ist eine Cölibatskirche», «Enkratitische Glosse», p. 8.

¹¹ «Monasticism», p. 522ff.

felt that Burkitt's hypothesis should be modified¹²; so did Müller¹³. But even after a very long period of debate, Burkitt found no reason to change his position but clung to it, adamantly affirming that 'Aphrahaṭ has classified Christians as consisting first of baptized full members and then as penitents or general adherents¹⁴.

It has become obvious that answers to these questions do not lie on the surface. Greater efforts are necessary to penetrate into this source in order to understand the ecclesiastical and historical premises of 'Aphrahaṭ's contemporary Christianity. The outcome of such a penetrating analysis of the treatises of 'Aphrahaṭ is this, that Christianity during 'Aphrahaṭ's period in Persia was living through a very important epoch, historically speaking. In this regard, the sources bring forth evidence¹⁵; certain indications are also to be found in other sources¹⁶.

In the course of research it also becomes necessary to pay attention to a literary-critical analysis of 'Aphrahaṭ's treatises. This has opened up a new avenue, namely, that the body of material embedded in his treatises is not all of the same mould. Disparate¹⁷ materials, strata and layers have found their way into the work and stand side by side in this literary work. The way in which various exegetical traditions have been used without having been harmonized also points to the true physiognomy of these materials. Indeed, 'Aphrahaṭ's treatises constitute a mine of wealth including remnants of very archaic traditions and others during the stage of transition. Even remnants of an archaic liturgy have been included¹⁸.

¹² Modified so that 'Aphrahaṭ would appear in the midst of the course of development towards the loosening of the radical standards and not at the beginning, *Aphrahaṭ*, p. 98f.

¹³ «Ehelosigkeit», p. 77. However, in his *Kirchengeschichte* I, p. 465 there is a certain shift toward Burkitt's position.

¹⁴ In a study written 38 years after he first presented his hypothesis he writes: «The penitent is the general adherent who has yet not volunteered for the sacramental life; the son (or daughter) of the Covenant is the baptized Christian, who is admitted to partake of the Eucharist», *Syriac-Speaking Christianity*, p. 499.

¹⁵ The way the synodical letter sent to the congregations is formulated, *Dem.*, XIV, col. 573ff., leaves the impression that the church at that time did not consist of ascetics.

¹⁶ The acts of martyrdom of Šem'ōn seem to have preserved a significant hint. This appears in a scene which took place after the proclamation of Shahpuhr's edict in the year 340, when the officials began with the destruction of the churches in Seleucia-Ctesiphon. In this report the *qeyāmā* is mentioned separately and other Christians are spoken of as belonging to the church, too. They are even called «sheep», a term which, according to ancient usage was an intimate epithet, used in connection with full Christians; *Acta martyrum*, ed. BEDJAN II, p. 148.

¹⁷ FIEY, «La Démonstration XIV d'Aphrahaṭ», p. 449ff.

¹⁸ VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy, a Requirement for Admission to Baptism*, p. 49ff.

In this way premises have emerged for a methodologically proper approach to this kind of material¹⁹.

Only in this way is it possible to recognize the ecclesiastical conditions which existed at the time 'Aphrahaṭ lived and wrote his treatises. During his time his «solitaries» constituted a spiritual elite within the church of baptized members enjoying the sacramental life. These questions have been treated sufficiently elsewhere²⁰ and do not need to be repeated here.

3. THE MONASTIC LEGACY OF 'APHRĒM

a. Introduction

'Aphrēm's youth falls within the period of Ja'qōb, bishop of Nisibis (308-338). He describes this famous ascetic¹ as a severe educator of the young Christian church of Nisibis. His gifts to the church of Nisibis certainly involve also commitment of the young 'Aphrahaṭ himself: «In all the exuberance (of life) at the level of childhood, I had a feared educator; his rod held me back from play and his warnings from sin and his threat from softness»². Here 'Aphrēm certainly includes himself among those who had received such introduction and education and applies it to his own career in the ascetic way of life.

A powerful force in the furtherance of monasticism throughout the centuries was fueled from the literary storage of this giant in Syriac literary creation, and he well knew how to use it skillfully. In order to understand the significance of this properly, it must be kept in mind that 'Aphrēm stands without a rival in the entire rank of the most outstanding authors the Syrians can call their own.

For this work, a particular division of this literary legacy comes into account. In the first place, the greatest importance belongs to those writings which were devoted entirely to ascetics and the furtherance of their movement. We refer to his writings which eulogize the lives and the accomplishments of the ascetics and solitaries and other spiritual athletes. There is even a cycle of such writings³. Time complicated pathways in the transmission of manuscripts have added also other

¹⁹ VÖÖBUS, «Methodologisches zum Studium der Anweisungen 'Aphrahaṭs», p. 25ff.

²⁰ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* I, p. 184ff.

¹ *Carmina Nisibena* XIX, 5, ed. BECK, XIV, 4, *ibid*.

² *Carmina Nisibena* XVI, 17, *ibid*.

³ VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 59ff.

similar but unauthentic writings to them. Methodologically, a critical sifting is necessary and this has been done⁴.

The rich literary creation⁵ from 'Aphrēm's pen⁶ is saturated with propaganda in the interest of ascetic ideals. Among them, one sector offers particular service for the present study. From the genre of his sermons, homilies and treatises, a particular group must be singled out, namely, those which were composed on themes directly connected to asceticism. One particular cycle treats the theme concerning virginity⁷ and another is devoted to fasting⁸. Special mention must be made of *mēmre* devoted to two celebrated ascetics, Abraham Qīdūnāyā and Jūlyānā Sābā⁹. These panegyrics offer additional insights.

A very valuable source has emerged to enrich the records at our disposal. These homilies have been preserved in an Armenian translation¹⁰. In this version the sources have brought new and precious texts to light¹¹.

In singling out the most important sources which come into account, it must be added that even his commentaries have preserved precious materials. This is particularly in connection with his commentary on the Diatessaron in the original Syriac¹² as well as the Armenian version¹³. These, too, provide valuable insights¹⁴.

It was in ways such as this that the voice of this giant inspired ascetics and monks throughout the centuries.

b. 'Aphrēm's Monastic Thought in His General Works

Among 'Aphrēm's leading thoughts certain salient features must be brought out.

'Aphrēm frequently speaks of continence which he called sanctity. For this he found support in Jewish traditions according to which Noah and

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁵ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 31ff.

⁶ CHABOT, *Littérature syriaque*, ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Patrologia syriaca*.

⁷ *Hymnen de virginitate*, ed. BECK.

⁸ *Hymnen de ieiunio*, ed. BECK.

⁹ *Hymnen auf Abraham Kidunaya und Julianos Saba*, ed. BECK.

¹⁰ *Hymnes d'Éphrem conservées en version arménienne*, éd. MARIÈS-MERCIER.

¹¹ See also GRAFFIN, in: *Orient Syr.* VI (1961), p. 219ff., which represents a French translation of the hymns on virginity, namely II-VII and IX.

¹² *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant*, éd. LELOIR.

¹³ *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, arm.*, éd. LELOIR.

¹⁴ LELOIR, *Doctrines et méthodes de S. Éphrem d'après son commentaire*.

his sons in the ark practiced continence — this is evident in his commentaries on Genesis¹ and the Diatessaron² as well as his *mēmre*³.

Far above continence is virginity⁴. 'Aphrēm's monastic thought is utterly devoted to the virtue of virginity. Virginity is the prime feature characterizing the ascetic. Among any and all forms of ascetic life, it occupies the first and foremost place in the life of ascetics. 'Aphrēm eulogizes virginity⁵ and inspires reverence for this virtue, insisting as he does on the lofty and glorious idea of emulating this virtue, even with a sense of pride. He does this in his hymns on virginity. In choosing virginity and in keeping it, the ascetic in 'Aphrēm's view not only becomes similar to angels but even superior to them. By way of demonstration he chooses an episode from the evangelist of John resting on the breast of Jesus, a particular act of intimacy and fellowship which allowed him something of which the angels could not dream. His singular interpretation and imagination is supported by the argument which follows: «The angels have received the gift of virginity without effort but you on the contrary as on the basis of battle ...»⁶. In the hymns which have survived in an Armenian version the same theme has been treated with variations⁷.

The term *ihidāyā*⁸ in 'Aphrēm does not mean «monk» since monasticism at that time did not have relations with the ecclesiastical community⁹. Therefore an adequate rendering of this term in 'Aphrēm would have to be «solitary» or «ascetic». The figure of the ascetic is that of one who lives in privation. He gives thanks¹⁰, he adores and is deeply absorbed in God, he prays¹¹, keeps vigils¹², and meditates on the scriptures¹³.

¹ *In Genesim et in Exodum commentarii* VI, 12, ed. TONNEAU.

² *Commentaire*, éd. LELOIR, II, 6.

³ *Carmina Nisibena* I, 9, ed. BECK.

⁴ *De nativitate* XXVIII, 3, ed. BECK.

⁵ LELOIR, «La pensée monastique d'Éphrem», p. 113ff.

⁶ *ḥayrān ʾi dūr ḥōmānāl māḥe lān dā ḥīn*, *De virginitate* XV, 4, ed. BECK, p. 53.

⁷ *Hymnes d'Éphrem en version arménienne* II, 7ff., éd. MARIÈS-MERCIER, p. 30ff.; cf. IX, 65-69, p. 76.

⁸ BECK, «Ein Beitrag zur Terminologie des ältesten syrischen Mönchtums», p. 159f.

⁹ BECK, *Ephrem der Syrer. Lobgesang aus der Wüste*, p. 22; LELOIR, «Doctrine et méthodes de S. Éphrem», p. 55f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

'Aphrēm offers a locus classicus on this point and it is here that this great theme is brought into sharpest focus: «Jesus died to the world in order that no one should live to the world, and he existed in a crucified body in order that no one should walk sensuously by it. He died to our world in his body in order that he may make (us) alive by his body to his world. And he mortified the life of the body in order that we may not live carnally by the flesh. He was made the master, a teacher not in tribulations of others but by his own suffering. And he himself first tasted bitterness and (thereby) showed us that no one could become his disciple by name but only through suffering»³². As is obvious from the preceding text, suffering is interpreted as the most meaningful and the most significant attribute of ascetic practice. Indeed, it is of such primal importance for 'Aphrēm that he uses the same term *'ūlṣānā* in deriving a name for the ascetics³³.

All the imagery which 'Aphrēm presents is enveloped in a very rich symbolism full of age-old themes which have been taken up by him and developed as a source for encouragement and inspiration for the ascetics in order to proceed onward on the arduous road of suffering. The most eminent is the theme of the pearl which is full of suggestiveness. Much celebrated³⁴ as a symbol of the soul, which according to the cross-currents of gnostic, Mandaean, Manichaean and Iranian legends which were in vogue in Osrhoene at that time, described the soul as imprisoned by the dragon only to be rescued by a celestial being which descended to search for it — it gave assurance of the continual presence of the Lord in the search for his own. One can feel the importance of this theme for 'Aphrēm in the rich variations³⁵ which appear in his *madrāṣē* on the pearl³⁶.

³² Մենաւ Յիսուս աշխարհի, զի ոք աշխարհի մի կեցցէ. և չըջեցաւ ի մէջ մարմնոյ խաչապէս, զի ոք լկտութեամբ մի գնացէ նովաւ: Մենաւ աշխարհիս մերոյ մարմնով իւրով, զի կեցուցէ աշխարհին իւրոյ մարմնով իւրով. և մեռոյց զկեանս մարմնոյ, զի և մեք մարմնով մարմնապէս մի կեցցուք: Եղև նա վարդապետ ուսուցիչ ոչ այլոց նեղութեամբք, այլ անձինն իւրոյ չարչարանաւք. և ինքն յառաջագոյն կանխեաց ճաշկեաց զդառնութիւնս, զի եղոյցմեզ զի մի ոք աշակերտեսցի նմա անուամբք, այլ չարչարանաւք, *Srboyn Ep'remi matenagrowth'wnk'* II, p. 240.

³³ مَلْتَمِ «afflicted», «tormented».

³⁴ See the hymn of the pearl in the Acts of Thomas, *Apocryphal Acts of the Gospels*, ed. WRIGHT.

³⁵ GRAFFIN, «Les hymnes sur la perle de Saint Éphrem», p. 129ff.

³⁶ See a cycle of *madrāṣē* on the same subject, in: *Hymnen de Fide*, ed. BECK, p. 248ff.

Certain other aspects in the monastic thought of 'Aphrēm need some elucidation. The armory of 'Aphrēm's imagery and his means for encouragement and inspiration also include higher motivation, something which he tried to instill in his readers. He presents this in affirming the goal of a love for humanity. That is what God demands even from those who live as solitaries in the desert. It is laid down in the idea that the extraordinary and selfless service in asceticism and mortification is something vital for the entire mankind. The hearts of the ascetics must burn for the salvation of the fallen human beings. Life in asceticism and contemplation is intimately related to a concern for the salvation of people. 'Aphrēm finds an illustration to substantiate this in the case of John the Baptist. In his commentary on the Diatessaron, he employs this episode to bring out his argument: «John went into the desert not to become there a savage one but to sweeten in the desert the savagery of the inhabited land; the solitary abandons the world in order to save; he abandons it because of love for it»³⁷.

With this vital function, there hangs together with it another idea closely related to it — that of the self-sacrifice of the solitaries and their sufferings in place of the church and its institutions. The pneumatic character of the most primitive monastic movement is accepted and respected by 'Aphrēm. Additional observations about this imagery will be made later on.

In connection with these observations about the monastic thought of 'Aphrēm it is very appropriate to offer a comment on 'Aphrēm's own personal example. As to 'Aphrēm's own road of asceticism he looks up to Ja'qōb's second successor on the episcopal see of Nisibis. In Bishop Wālāgēs he found an ideal for his own life. In him he saw the embodiment of his own perfection. 'Aphrēm has devoted an entire hymn eulogizing this spiritual leader³⁸. The spiritual qualities which impressed him so profoundly were self-control, mildness, virginity, education and eloquence³⁹. That which had a lasting impact upon 'Aphrēm and which captured his entire personality was Wālāgēs' asceticism combined with his learning. From him did he take over the stimuli for a laborious education of the soul and the spirit, the cultivation of spiritual and intellectual life in the service of the church⁴⁰.

³⁷ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* II, p. 92ff.

³⁸ *Carmina Nisibena* XV, ed. BECK.

³⁹ XV, 8, ed. BECK.

⁴⁰ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* II, p. 84ff.

c. 'Aphrēm's Letter to the Mountaineers

The text which bears the title «A letter of Mār 'Aphrēm to the mountaineers»¹ is a prose text in the form of a letter sent to the solitaries on the mountains. The manuscript tradition does not go farther back than the first quarter of the ninth century². Without doubt it is a document of great importance for every student who wants to delve into the history of ancient Syrian monasticism.

The text of this letter has been edited by Overbeck³.

The first critical examination of this document was made by Burkitt when he constructed an orderly arrangement of 'Aphrēm's works from the point of view of the quotations taken from the archaic text of the gospels. This letter passed through his examination and its quotations from the Diatessaron brought this letter into the list of the genuine writings of 'Aphrēm⁴. This result appeared to be satisfactory to the scholars⁵.

A careful analysis of the text, however, makes it impossible for us to adopt this general opinion about the letter without further scrutiny. It is undeniably true that the later origin of the manuscript is fully compensated for by the quotations from the gospel used by Tatian. There is no doubt that the quotations given in the letter are, indeed, cited from the Diatessaron. But an examination of the letter has to be carried further than Burkitt's analysis which was interested only in the quotations cited in the text. Such an examination required deeper analysis involving the thoughtworld, imagery, terminology, vocabulary and style. Every avenue which could lead to more information — and no facet is out of place in such an undertaking — had to be explored. Such a scrutiny⁶ has been made⁷.

A literary critical and historical examination shows us that the initial

¹ ܡܬܝܬܝܠ ܡܪܝܢ ܡܬܝܬܝܠ ܡܬܝܬܝܠ.

² Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,623 is dated, written in 823 A.D.; the second, Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,213 belongs to the 9th cent.; WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 762ff.

³ *Opera selecta*, p. 133ff.

⁴ Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel, p. 24.

⁵ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 38; CHABOT, *Littérature syriaque*, p. 26; it has been briefly mentioned by WRIGHT, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 35.

⁶ VÖÖBUS, *A Letter of Aphrem to the Mountaineers — A Literary-Critical Contribution to Syriac Patristic Literature*.

⁷ VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 59ff.

division of the letter passes the test of scrutiny. However, the latter part cannot withstand critical attack and must be regarded as an alien body added to the letter, arbitrarily connected with the authentic document⁸. Between the first and the second part of the text of the letter there exists a gulf requiring the strongest of bonds to hold such disparate texts together.

With this letter a very valuable document has come into our possession. That which catches our eye in this precious source is the number of basic features which throw light on 'Aphrēm's monastic thought as well as the scenery of the ascetic movement at that time.

That which has been put into a bright focus in this letter is anchoritism. This movement has spread widely — «you see my brothers, how great an army (lies) on the mountain»⁹. The ascetics on which 'Aphrēm's eyes rested were his fellow ascetics. A record regarding his own solitary life on the mountains of Edessa appears in a source¹⁰ composed not long after the time 'Aphrēm closed his eyes. The persons addressed and spoken of with veneration are characterized as solitaries living on the mountains and in caves. These ascetics are called *tūrāyē* «mountaineers». He also used another very remarkable term, namely *pārūšā*¹¹, usually understood to mean «prudent» but which is employed here in the monastic meaning: «separated one» or as «an anchorite». It is etymologically fully justified.

These ascetics in their activities cultivate individuality, enthusiasm and strict mortification. 'Aphrēm writes that they are completely free from the yoke of the world and the slavery of worldly possessions¹². The demarcation line between monasticism and the world, between life in loneliness and life in the towns as well as in the villages is very clearly drawn¹³. This is carried out in greater detail when 'Aphrēm uses typology

⁸ In the first part the text is addressed to the «brothers mountaineers» and in the speech they are always addressed in the second person plural, but suddenly, *Opera selecta*, ed. OVERBECK, p. 127²⁴, the text changes to the second person singular which is consistently followed throughout the remaining part of the text. Also the character of the content of the last part of the text is totally different.

⁹ ܡܬܝܬܝܠ ܡܪܝܢ ܡܬܝܬܝܠ ܡܬܝܬܝܠ ܡܬܝܬܝܠ, *Opera selecta*, ed. OVERBECK, p. 114.

¹⁰ PALLADIOS, *Historia Lausiaca* XL, ed. BUTLER, p. 126f.

¹¹ ܡܬܝܬܝܠ, *Opera selecta*, p. 117²⁴⁻²⁷.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 115¹⁻²; 117²⁶⁻²⁷; 118¹³⁻¹⁴.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 124¹⁴ff.

in connection with the episode of Lot's wife to illustrate the drastic decision of withdrawing from the world¹⁴.

These ascetics display a very primitive manner of live. They have radically rejected everything that belongs to the comforts of civilization. Everything 'Aphrēm tells us about them radiates the same spirit. He describes these *tūrāyē* who live on the mountains, in deserts and in the caves and whose food consisted of grass, with warmth and feeling¹⁵. They are ascetics who possess nothing, who drink water from the river, who eat roots or fruits of the trees, who clothe themselves with sack-cloth and who go barefoot. They sleep on the ground. He counsels them not to build a dwelling place but to be content with the most primitive of arrangements¹⁶. Those ascetics who filled the caves, cliffs, hollows and who roamed in the deserts and on the mountains lived as solitaires or anchorites or in small groups who shared their life with animals¹⁷. They had overcome any fear of the wild beasts. 'Aphrēm's eye rests with deep satisfaction upon those ascetics to whom loneliness was so important that they would not give it up even when circumstances would seem to have made it necessary.

With regard to the motivation of the life of these ascetics, the letter displays a very archaic, almost gnostically infected, idea regarding the grand drama: the whole universe is full of fire, the great conflagration is in process forcing prudent people to flee from the towns and villages which are being consumed by this catastrophe, to hide themselves in mountains and deserts. Jesus himself had given the example¹⁸, namely «a model» for the solitaires to go into the deserts. The sublimity of their status in absolute loneliness is accentuated still more by the awareness that they are «the companions of Elijah and the imitators of John the Baptist»¹⁹. They are «God's people»²⁰ and «children of God»²¹.

This precious source allows us still deeper insights. The letter empha-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 111 *et passim*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 124f., 126.

¹⁸ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ, τύπος, *ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁹ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ, ܡܬܝܬܝܢ : ܡܬܝܬܝܢ, ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ, *ibid.*, p. 113₂₋₃.

²⁰ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ, *ibid.*, p. 113₁₀.

²¹ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ, *ibid.*, p. 120.

sizes very strongly that *'ūlṣānā*²², «suffering», is the earmark of asceticism. Indeed, it is of such primal importance for 'Aphrēm that he uses the same vocable *'ūlṣānā* to derive a meaningful name for the ascetics²³. 'Aphrēm makes the concept of suffering expressed by *'ūlṣānā* as well as *ḥaṣā*²⁴ the heart of the Christian life in his own unique way²⁵. At every turn 'Aphrēm comes back to it; it occupies a central position in his thoughtworld. Suffering is the hallmark of the ascetics; it is the very nature of the monastic life.

With respect to the religious activities of the solitaires, 'Aphrēm says that their activity was reduced to prayer and meditation²⁶.

For the glorification of this form of ascetic life 'Aphrēm opens up important perspectives. He points out that aloofness and absolute loneliness in anchoritism is not really aloofness at all because this life in loneliness is approved by divine providence. This way of life has as its compensation the angelic company. Angels descend upon the dwelling places of the solitaires, sent to be their guides and guardians and to take care of all the duties of the missing earthly companions²⁷.

Another aspect has to be added. This document reveals the opposition of Christians to the movement of these ascetics and solitaires. They were regarded as outside the Christian church²⁸. But, 'Aphrēm decidedly does not share this criticism and takes them under his protection. In his eyes the ascetics held to be outside the church and whose main activity was prayer are declared by 'Aphrēm to be spiritually present whenever the eucharist was celebrated²⁹. 'Aphrēm is inventive in finding a proof text in the scriptures in support of this strong position³⁰.

d. *A Mēmṛā on the Solitaires and Mourners*

Another very important text from 'Aphrēm bears the title «A *Mēmṛā*

²² ܡܬܝܬܝܢ, *ibid.*, p. 144.

²³ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ, «afflicted», «tormented», *ibid.*, p. 121.

²⁴ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120₁₅₋₁₈.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121₅ff.

³⁰ 'Aphrēm finds that the passage in Job XXXIX,30 serves as a scriptural proof of this assertion.

on the solitaires and mourners»¹ which was made available by Zingerle² and later by Rahmani³. This document was known much earlier through its Greek version⁴. Here we have to do with a very important record; aside from a few known manuscripts⁵, new and important witnesses have been ferreted out of their hiding places in the Syrian Orient⁶.

As critical scrutiny⁷ has shown, the voice that speaks in this precious document is that of 'Aphrēm⁸.

Everything unfolded in this treatise is a eulogy on anchoritism, a eulogy expressed in distinct tones. Here, too, the ascetics are called *ihidāyē*, «solitaries», and the term *pārūšē*⁹ has also been employed.

‘Aphrēm tells us about the motivations for their withdrawal from the world and for their choice of life in the desert. These are brought out at the beginning of the *mēmṛā*: they do not want to become contaminated by the sins of the world¹⁰. They want to find what they cannot find in the world¹¹. During their life in the desert the solitaries make the fullest use of the advantages that loneliness offers to them. There is quietness and silence which grant them protection from every disturbance and harm. There they are able to devote themselves to their primary concern which consists in the first place of mourning¹², humility, fasting and holiness¹³.

'Aphrēm tells us also about the biblical examples which have inspired these solitaries to undertake their life in loneliness. He particularly

¹ *مكة من مكة وحل بمكة مكة*.

² *Monumenta syriaca* I, 4-12. The incipit of this *mēmra* is: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ.

³ *Hymni de virginitate* II, p. 81 ff.

⁴ Sermo alius in patres defunctos, *Opera omnia graece*, ed. ASSEMANI I, p. 175ff. It has been cast into the metrical form, see *Saint Éphrem le Syrien*, éd. ÉMEREAU, p. 40ff.

⁵ Ms. Borgia Syr. 10, fol. 46bff. and some other manuscripts, see VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 72.

⁶ The most important are in the collection in Mardin: Ms. Mardin Orth. 74, fol. 79b-88a; Ms. 140, p. 254-272; Ms. 157, fol. 67b-77b; Ms. 171, p. 40-61; Ms. 418, fol. 167a-178a; Ms. 420, p. 492-497; see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

⁷ VÖÖBUS, *Untersuchungen über die Authentizität einiger asketischer Texte*, p. 25ff.

⁸ VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 72ff.; *Id.*, «Beiträge zur kritischen Sichtung der asketischen Schriften», p. 48ff.

⁹ **Кеѡѡ**, *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45-8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10₃₆₁₋₃₇₆.

12 Khalek.

13 **நகரம்.**

singles out the actions of Elia and John the Baptist. The evidence drawn from the example of John the Baptist in particular has been put into a solemn setting, namely, cast in a form which has modified the biblical text: «John who was in the desert, is made great in the kingdom»¹⁴.

Interesting additional insights into the phenomenon of the solitaries are offered by 'Aphrēm, placed as they are at the burning focus of his concern. These ascetics live along in the desert¹⁵ but occasionally seek companions so that two or three may live together¹⁶. The scale of desire for loneliness varies — at the other extreme there are those who have adopted the most drastic rule, namely, to see no man at all¹⁷.

Again 'Aphrēm comes back constantly to the basic hallmark of every true ascetic, namely suffering. 'Aphrēm's sympathy belongs to those «who mortify much their bodies»¹⁸.

'Aphrēm in this *mēmṛā* emphatically brings out another very important aspect. The mission of the ascetics in the desert is exalted. He tells the ascetics of their great importance for society. 'Aphrēm emphasizes the value of their prayers which have an immense importance for the rest of the world. Their intercessory prayer sustains the rest of the world: «The inhabited land, in which there is iniquity¹⁹, is being kept through your prayers, and the world which is buried in sins, is being strengthened through your prayers»²⁰. This is a favorite thought of 'Aphrēm²¹.

Aphrēm leads the solitaires to the source of encouragement and inspiration pointing to the glory of their life in loneliness. Loneliness is the apex of the presentation around which all deliberations revolve. Even the eternal world takes part in this form of existence. The solitaires belong to the company of angels. They descend to the earth during their struggles and sufferings and they descend to the lifeless remains of those who have died in loneliness. They watch over the earthly remains of these virtuosos who have exchanged life in the world for life in loneliness²².

¹⁴ אֲנִי הָיִיתִי כְּשֶׁנִּשְׁכַּחְתִּי אֶת הַיָּדָא, *ibid.*, p. 541-42.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7₁₆₅.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7₁₆₉₋₁₇₄.

¹⁷ נאמא דמאריה דבא דבא, *ibid.*, p. 7¹⁹³⁻¹⁹⁴.

18 ~~المجلة~~ ~~العلمية~~, *ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁹ The variant reading is much better.

[illegible]

²¹ *Carmina Nisibena*, ed. BECK.

²² It is told here that the angels bury their bodies and keep savage animals away from their earthly remains, *ibid.*, p. 8₂₅₃₋₃₃₈.

Much more is unfolded in this precious source. A very archaic stream in the tradition referring to the pneumatic character of ascetics deserves particular interest. It involves the very primitive character of the theology behind the given explanation with regard to the relationship between the anchorites and the church with its cult. That which is brought forward here bears all the marks of very great antiquity. Since it is very instructive, permitting us an insight into the primitive Syrian thoughtworld, it is of much profit to listen to the texts themselves: «Their bodies are the temple²⁴ of the spirit, their thoughts like the church and their prayer a pure censer and their tears are sweet incense and their groaning and their chants, cheerful hymns are the (eucharistic) offerings»²⁴. These insights are deepened by another text: «All day and night, all their work is prayer; instead of a censer which they do not have, their purity is (for) atonement²⁵ and instead of the buildings of the church they are temples for the Holy Spirit; instead of altars are their spirits; as sacrifices are their prayers offered to the godhead softening Him continually»²⁶. Thus everything performed by the ascetics through their self-sacrifice and sufferings in the desert constitutes a full substitution for everything that takes place in the life and activities of the church. It must be noted here that a certain unconcern and naïveté radiated by this text would not be conceivable after measures were taken against the movement of the Messalians²⁷, measures undertaken by the Patriarch Flavianos (381-404)²⁸. After those actions, ideas such as these were completely discredited. However, thoughts like those just quoted are perfectly understandable before the time of Flavianos.

Still more can be evinced from the same source. The very fact that this sort of apology was necessary on the behalf of asceticism, is

23 ναός.

[illegible]

²⁵ Or: «absolution».

[illegible]

²⁷ VÖÖBUS, Les messaliens et les réformes de Barsauma de Nisibe.

²⁸ THEODORETOS, *Historia eccl.* IV, 11, ed. PARMENTIER, p. 230f.

significant. And here, too, we learn from 'Aphrēm that this matter was his concern and that he used the same argumentation. In this document he pens an important passage in this respect: «Everywhere, where the sacrifice is being offered, they participate, although they are in the desert; and not (as if) because they are far off in body (they are) not members of the church, but (rather that) through their belief they are near»²⁹.

In the realm of such thoughts we stand at a very archaic point in time in primitive Syrian monasticism. An unmistakable symptom of this is to be found in the conditions which necessitated a fight for the right of existence of pneumatic ideas in asceticism. We learn that these ascetics had to suffer mockery, scoffing and insults from their critics³⁰. Such a candid admission deserves our trust, since it is something entirely different from that which later authors concocted. Further, this is quite understandable during the lifetime of ʿAphrēm — at a later time, such phenomena would have been impossible. In this connection it is instructive to remember what Ishāq of Antioch has to tell us. He describes monasticism at the beginning of the fifth century, bringing forward utterly different complaints. Ishāq is worried about the degree of veneration which the monks had secured for themselves in society, in which they were enjoying — to use his own words — positions of rulership³¹ like the judges of the world³².

e. *A Cycle of Other Related Mēmre*

In 'Aphrēm's literary legacy a segment was particularly designed to serve the promotion and furtherance of monastic life. In these *mēmre* he created his communication lines with contemporary ascetics with whom he was united in a basic understanding of the ascetic vocation and through which he has spoken from generation to generation. And as the manuscript evidence shows, his message was avidly absorbed in the monastic centers and in the cells of the solitaries.

²⁹ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯ, ಅನುಭವ ಮತ್ತು ಈ ಅನುಪಮವಾದ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯವು ಕವಿ
 ಮನುಷ್ಯನ ಅನುಭವವನ್ನು ಕವಿ ಅನುಭವವನ್ನು ಕವಿ
 ಅನು, *Opera selecta*, ed. OVERBECK, p. 121_{6,9}.

³⁰ *Monumenta syriaca* I, ed. ZINGERLE, p. 11₄₂₁₋₄₂₄.

³¹ This veneration has exceeded that of the priests, *Opera omnia*, ed. BICKELL I, p. 186, cf. p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 183.

as far as the introduction is concerned, we stand face-to-face with a piece which demands watchfulness.

These manuscripts which have been known²³ have been supplemented by unknown sources from the Syrian Orient as they are a welcome enrichment for our knowledge about the preservation of this text²⁴.

It is with loving affection that the author unfolds the same phenomena which we have already seen. The *mēmṛā*, in general, unfolds the same pattern, but there are variations. Here it is necessary to mention only some aspects.

The interest in mortification underlies the whole discourse. The torture of the body and the killing of the flesh is the tenor that permeates the philosophy of monastic life which is very emphatically presented²⁵.

Another interesting observation may be added. It is highly interesting that some symptoms of coenobitism begin to appear on the periphery of the ascetic movement in this source²⁶. It seems as if the author is concerned about those symptoms which point to some earliest symptoms of a transition from primitive Syrian anchoritism to the settled life of coenobitism.

The next *mēmṛā* to the introduced bears the title²⁷: «A *mēmṛā* on the exhortation of the solitaires»²⁸. The text of the *mēmṛā* was edited twice, first by Lamy²⁹ and then by Rahmani³⁰.

The few manuscripts of this *mēmṛā* which were known³¹ have been supplemented by unknown manuscript sources from the Syrian Orient³².

As a closer examination of the intrinsic evidence shows, the credentials of this *mēmṛā* are in order³³.

This *mēmṛā*, too, appears as a piece which takes its place in the

²³ VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 75.

²⁴ Ms. Diyarbakir Başaranlar 51, quire 11, fol. 2b-quire 12, fol. 1b; the most important sources are in the collection in Mardin: Ms. Mardin Orth. 74, fol. 19b-32a; Ms. 75; Ms. 143, fol. 95b-118a; Ms. 418, fol. 178a-186b. See VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

²⁵ *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY IV, col. 151, 153 et passim.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, col. 151.

²⁷ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ.

²⁸ Its incipit reads: ܡܡܪܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ.

²⁹ *Hymni et sermones* IV, col. 207-216.

³⁰ *Hymni de virginitate* II, p. 116ff.

³¹ VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 79.

³² Ms. Baghdad Patr. 3122, p. 306-314.

³³ VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 79f.; ID., «Beiträge zur kritischen Sichtung der asketischen Schriften», p. 48ff.

structure and pattern of the mosaic of the other *mēmṛē* of 'Aphrēm which have been reviewed. In this source two features may be singled out for special emphasis in this treatment.

The leading thought which permeates the presentation is the concept of 'ulṣānā³⁴. It crystallizes the basic tenets³⁵ described, also using the term ḥaṣā³⁶. It is brought out very forcefully that suffering is the force which brings about a transformation in the spiritual being. Another *mēmṛā* offers a more ample explanation by saying that suffering transforms the physical being to one like that of an angel³⁷ and produces God's image in man³⁸.

The other observation concerns the concept of the cross in the spirituality of asceticism. When 'Aphrēm explains that everyone must be confronted with the cross, he argues that one must mystically attach oneself to the cross in such a way that ascetic practices take the nails and the thorns. Thus through vigils, hunger, thirst and other ascetic practices and means of mortification the body is crucified³⁹. From this vantage point, 'Aphrēm can say that the purpose of asceticism is that of seeking the shame of the cross and of carrying the pain of the cross.

Still another point deserves to be mentioned. The *mēmṛā* handles the phenomenon of monasticism together with the concept of martyrdom. Ascetics are represented as true martyrs. While martyrs endure hunger, thirst, pain, scourge, fire and sword, ascetics offer self-sacrifice as the result of vigils, ascetic acts and means of mortification⁴⁰. The thought that asceticism is a new form of martyrdom is another way in which 'Aphrēm expresses the teleology of asceticism. This significant line of thought, which has received repeated treatment, is developed to show that monasticism is a transformation of martyrdom. For just as the martyrs were ready for bodily ordeals, torture and destruction, so are the monks ready to accomplish the same through mortification⁴¹. The

³⁴ ܐܘܠܣܢܐ.

³⁵ *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY IV, p. 215^{1-2, 6, 8}; 209⁴; 211¹⁴; 215⁷.

³⁶ ܚܝܫܐ.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 217.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 219.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 213.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 215.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, col. 213, 215; see also *Carmen adhortatorium ad monachos*, ed. RAHMANI, p. 11. Very interesting insights offers also a text in *Opera omnia graece*, ed. ASSEMANI II, p. 330. This text shows traces that it has been translated from its original in Syriac.

and affliction. 'Aphrēm assures them that this sorrow is the sign of perfection in the Christian life. But by this sign, 'Aphrēm does not wish to understand a merely psychological disposition without any concrete outward physical phenomena. On the contrary, his supposition is that the fright at the thought of eternal punishment must be so intense that the heart is pierced with utter vehemence so much so that the inner pain and affliction must find its outlet in tears. Sadness and mourning are inseparably connected with weeping.

In connection with this phenomenon it is appropriate to remember that in the Syriac *vita*, in one of its recensions, which contains a brief paragraph about 'Aphrēm's manners and habits, mixed together with some about his prosopographic features, there is also included this particular feature: «His countenance was always mournful and never did he yield to laughter»¹⁵.

It is understandable, 'Aphrēm concludes, that such an exalted disposition, this living in constant tension must be ear-marked by a commensurate character of life. This mood leaves no room ever for the most harmless of joys and gay spirits. 'Aphrēm extirpates every kind of joking mood, every gay and joyful disposition¹⁶. The most harmless recreation falls under his condemnation. He is particularly vehement against laughter. Repeatedly, he points out that Jesus in his life on earth never laughed but wept. He warns the monks that laughter as soon as it breaks through must be understood as an unmistakable symptom that evil has entered the soul and is working to destroy that blessedness of salvation promised only to those who are sad. An ancient Arabic translation has preserved a special homily on the subject of laughter where 'Aphrēm makes the danger clear in the plainest of words. There laughter is «the beginning of destruction of soul; o, monk, when you notice something of that, know that you have arrived at the depth of the evil. Then do not cease to pray God, that He might rescue you from this death ... Laughter expels the virtues and pushes aside the thoughts on death and meditation on the punishment. O, Lord, banish from me laughter and give me weeping and lamenting, which Thou demandest from me»¹⁷.

¹⁵ *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY II, col. 41ff. New sources have emerged about his story. The most important sources are in the collection in Mardin: Ms. Mardin Orth. 256, p. 309-338; Ms. 260, nr. 2 in the collection; Ms. 261, p. 261-317; Ms. 272, p. 14-70. See VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

¹⁶ Ms. Sin. Georg. 36, fol. 136aff. Laughter and hilarity are considered as the best way to perdition.

¹⁷ اول خراب نفس الراهب هو الضحك والبريسيا. ايه الراهب اذا انت ابصرت نفسك في شي من هذا فاعلم انك قد صرت الي غمق الشر. فلا تزال تطلب من الله وتتضرع اليه حتي يخلصك من هذا الموت ...

With special fervor does 'Aphrēm speak of tears and weeping¹⁸. He does not regard weeping as a temporary and casual phenomenon. He expects that the psychological atmosphere created by continuous fear and dread, methodically cultivated, produces tears continually. 'Aphrēm has summarized this in his prayer: «Give me pain, which cannot be consoled away, and a heart upon which there is an ache, and a source which streams and does not cease»¹⁹. The tradition about 'Aphrēm says that weeping was as natural to him as breathing to others²⁰. 'Aphrēm himself confesses that this was not taken from the air²¹. He says that whenever he thinks of the hour of the final judgement, when the Bridegroom will come, and when he will be cast into darkness, tears begin to flow from his eyes²². In these moments, when fear paralyzes him²³, he weeps until he is exhausted and has no strength to weep any longer²⁴.

It is with the highest terms that 'Aphrēm speaks of these products of sorrow, grief and pain. In his eyes these actions accompanied by repentant cries are the real jewels²⁵. His advice is: «Pour tears in prayer, and purify the body from guilt»²⁶. He even goes so far as to say that he regards such weeping as expiatory²⁷, as baptism of a sort²⁸.

Finally, we must pause for a moment to look at another significant aspect. This *mēmra*, too, is concerned with the repudiation of claims that the ascetics and solitaries were not members of the church but stand

الضحك يطرد الصلاح ويذهب بذكر الموت والتفكير بالعذاب. يا رب اطرده عني الضحك وهب لي النوح الضحك يطرد الصلاح ويذهب بذكر الموت والتفكير بالعذاب. والبكا الذي تطلب مني *Die griechische Ephraem-Paraenesis gegen das Lachen in arabischer Übersetzung*, ed. HEFFENING, p. 106.

¹⁸ Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 302, fol. 221b.

¹⁹ *Sermones duo*, ed. ZINGERLE, p. 15, col. 2.

²⁰ *Vita atque encomium*, ed. MIGNE, col. 829.

²¹ Ms. Birmingham Ming. Syr. 190, fol. 127a.

²² Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,172, fol. 282b.

²³ In another *mēmra* 'Aphrēm says: «Pains surround me from all sides; sorrow hence is close to me; and grief and pain name me; also sufferings terrify me, great weeping is on me — alas for me», Ms. Birm. Mingana Syr. 190, fol. 127a.

²⁴ *Opera omnia*, ed. ASSEMANI I, p. 53.

²⁵ *Monumenta syriaca*, ed. ZINGERLE I, p. 6.

²⁶ *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY IV, col. 209.

²⁷ *«always they give to themselves atonement (absolution) from their tears»*, Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 302, fol. 222a.

²⁸ In the *madrāṣe* about Abraham Qidūnayā 'Aphrēm develops the same thought and calls the eyes as sources of expiation, reckoning with «two baptisms of expiation», *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY III, col. 771, 773.

different forms¹². He held the work to be Messalian in character and that the collection in the Arabic tongue stood closest to the original character of the work. As has already been mentioned, the name Simon came up in this tradition. Dörries identified Simon with the leader of the Messalian movement as recorded in Theodoretos¹³ and calls him Simon of Mesopotamia. Dörries also made an effort to reconstruct the Messalian Asceticon. To this end, he focussed in particular upon the sections consisting of questions and answers. In this connection, Dörries concurred with Villecourt's judgment. Accordingly, Dörries called the Spiritual Homilies «Katechismus der Messalianer, ihr Asketikon». Given the assumption of a Mesopotamian setting¹⁴ for the homilies, the ascetic group and its holy book was thereby identified, together with its leader as Simon of Mesopotamia.

New impulses energized research. As a result, new collections of materials in Greek¹⁵, Arabic and Syriac were brought to light. As it happens, the Syriac tradition¹⁶ was the most venerable, given its great age. The oldest witness was written in the year 534¹⁷. One source¹⁸, certainly ancient, represents the only independent collection, which has been assumed¹⁹ in its original form to come closest to the Asceticon²⁰. It also must be said that the Syriac tradition has a greater number of witnesses than any other oriental tradition. Further, Syriac tradition has also absorbed certain other texts²¹. We are very fortunate that unknown sources, reposing in hiding places in the Syrian Orient, have been brought to light.

¹² *Symeon von Mesopotamien*, p. 145.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁴ Marriott, among others, has listed two items of evidence for the Mesopotamian provenance of the spiritual homilies: the allusions to wars between the Romans and the Persians fought throughout the first four centuries A.D. on Syrian territory. The second is the reference to prostitution. «His home was a hunting ground for the trade in white slaves».

¹⁵ *Neue Homilien des Makarios/Symeon*, ed. KLOSTERMANN-BERTHOLD.

¹⁶ *Die syrische Überlieferung der Schriften des Makarios I: Syrischer Text*, ed. STROTHMANN.

¹⁷ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12,175, WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 633ff.

¹⁸ Ms. Sinai Syr. 14, SMITH LEWIS, *Catalogue*, p. 17.

¹⁹ DÖRRIES, *Symeon von Mesopotamien*, p. 9ff.

²⁰ STROTHMANN, *Makarios und die Makarioschriften*, p. 97f.

²¹ Writings under the name of Makarios of Alexandria and those of Makarios the Egyptian.

b. *Its Syriac Provenance*

In this area of research, my own studies led me long ago¹ to another plateau, one which opened up very different vistas. Certain phenomena in the Spiritual Homilies had aroused my suspicion and they were of such a nature that a closer examination of this very peculiar source was warranted². The phenomena which attracted attention put me face-to-face with matter not privy to the Greek tradition but which was clearly of Syrian provenance.

First of all, one cannot help but notice that the way in which the Spiritual Homilies speak of the Holy Spirit is most revealing. The Holy Spirit for the author is a Mother³. She takes her children into her arms and gives them the breast⁴. This imagery graphically depicts the experience of inspiration as a source of spiritual growth. When one thinks of the understanding of the Trinity in Greek theology, such a view appears totally out of place in a Greek document. However, such an idea is completely at home in the Semitic Orient where the archaic idea of the feminine character of the Spirit was so strong that it could only be forced to retreat — under pressure. It suffices here to mention but one passage in Aphrahat: «As long as a man takes no wife, he honors and loves God, his Father, and the Holy Spirit, his Mother, and he has no other love»⁵. It is unmistakably clear that terminology of this sort in the Spiritual Homilies draws heavily upon premises deeply rooted in ancient Syrian Christianity.

Among other such phenomena in terminology, one deserves particular attention. It is a term employed in the Spiritual Homilies for the monastic communities, namely ἀδελφότης⁶. This term is unusual in Greek literature but one which was very popular in Syriac⁷. It also must

¹ This study had been lying on my desk far too long awaiting publication. It was ready as long ago as July of 1959 when I had the opportunity at S. Gerolamo on the Janiculum hill in Rome to share my new findings with the late J. Gribomont, namely that I had found new avenues to elucidate the question of the provenance of the spiritual homilies, but particularly the evidence in the archaic biblical texts used by the homilies. Since that time, I have kept Prof. Quispel, with whom I shared the same interest in this literature, informed of my new approach.

² VÖÖBUS, *On the Historical Importance of the Legacy of Pseudo-Macarios*, p. 11ff.

³ ... τὴν ἐπουράνιον μητέρα, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, *Neue Homilien XXVII*, 4, ed. KLOSTERMANN-BERTHOLD, p. 155.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 3, p. 154.

⁵ *Demonstrationes XVIII*, 10, ed. PARISOT I, 1, col. 840. See also page 21.

⁶ *Epistula magna*, p. 258, 271, 283.

⁷ About the negative reaction against this term by Gregory of Nyssa, see page 60.

who followed his call under the vow of virginity. This idea has been crystallized in a logion in the Gospel of Thomas²², namely, that the virgins who went with the Bridegroom to the celebration are solitaires, thus applying this promise only to those Christians who follow the call to abandon marriage, possessions and the world with all of its demands. Just how deeply this idea is rooted in the ancient Syrian traditions can be seen in the records²³. The parable with this interpretation must have become particularly important for ancient Mesopotamian Christianity²⁴, speaking as it does of a separation which takes place among those who give heed to the Christian message — a separation whose *Sitz im Leben* is manifested in a very archaic piece of baptismal liturgy in Mesopotamian Christianity²⁵.

The measure of surprise is not yet full. There is something else, something which will crown all our findings. Even the terminology is telling in this instance. Whereas the parable tells us that the wise virgins who were ready went to the γάμους, the marriage feast, the Spiritual Homilies instead read that they entered the νυμφών, the bridal chamber²⁶. The Spiritual Homilies thus reveal what they really are — homilies coming from a Syrian background and using a distinctive Syrian rendering²⁷. Just what this deviation, which has replaced the Greek term which is the plural and has no local meaning, really represents, cannot be learned from the Old Syrian witnesses — Syr. Sin. and Syr. Cur. are missing here — but it can be discovered from the text used by 'Aphrēm²⁸, 'Aphraha²⁹ and many other sources³⁰. It is a rendering which has even been memorialized in an inscription³¹. It has even found a home in liturgical sources³² and, as an Old Syriac reading,

²² Logion 75: «Jesus said: many are standing at the door, but the solitaires (μόναχοι) are the ones who will enter the bridal chamber», *The Gospel of Thomas*, ed. GUILLAUMONT-PUECH-QUISEPEL-TILL-YASSAH 'ABD AL-MASIH, p. 40f.

²³ VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy, A Requirement for Admission to Baptism*, p. 1ff.

²⁴ *The Acts of Thomas*, ed. WRIGHT, p. 182.

²⁵ VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy, A Requirement for Admission to Baptism*, p. 49ff.

²⁶ *Epistula magna*, p. 275.

²⁷ VÖÖBUS, *On the Historical Importance of the Legacy of Pseudo-Macarios*, p. 23.

²⁸ *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY IV, col. 207, 209.

²⁹ *Demonstrationes* VI, 1; IX, 4, XIV, 16, col. 240, 248, 416, 612.

³⁰ VÖÖBUS, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac I*, p. 111; cf. p. 92, 101.

³¹ GUIDI, «Di un' iscrizione sepolcrale siriana», p. 76.

³² Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,493, fol. 102a, WRIGHT, *Catalogue I*, p. 219ff.; Ms. Vatican Syr. 117, fol. 453b, ASSEMANI, *Catalogus III*, p. 36; see also an official formula for address, in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,636, fol. 58a, WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 101a.

has been carried over into the Palestinian Syriac³³ as well as the Old Armenian version³⁴.

Fortunately, we do not need to stop here. In addition to very instructive observations on this, further evidence which is able to open up a new vista has been discovered. It becomes evident when the biblical text employed in the Spiritual Homilies is scrutinized. These findings advance our investigation³⁵. Extensive research on the archaic tradition of the biblical text in ancient Syrian Christianity leads us to phenomena which previously had not been noticed. The text of the Bible reveals readings which were at home in the ancient Syrian textual traditions. This is so, not only with regard to the text of the gospels and the epistles, but also the Old Testament³⁶. It reveals the physiognomy of a Vetus Syra.

Confronted with such a state of affairs, only one conclusion is possible. Since the Spiritual Homilies did not use the Greek Bible but the Bible in the form of the Vetus Syra, we have firm evidence of the Syrian provenance of this legacy.

In conclusion, from whatever angle we proceed, whether from that of the physiognomy of asceticism, or the basic premises, or special notions and concepts or the scriptural support with its particular hermeneutics — there is presented to us the life and thought so deeply embedded in the ancient Mesopotamian traditions³⁷. Accordingly, the church historical significance of the corpus of the Spiritual Homilies takes on an entirely new complexion.

c. *The Epistula Magna*

The light which has been thrown on the Spiritual Homilies receives an enhanced importance because another question of great significance for

³³ VÖÖBUS, *Early Versions of the NT*, p. 130.

³⁴ VÖÖBUS, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac I*, p. 111.

³⁵ VÖÖBUS, *On the Historical Importance of the Legacy of Pseudo-Macarios*, p. 21ff.; see also BAKER, «Syriac and Scriptural Quotations of Ps. Macarius», p. 133ff.

³⁶ About the archaic form of the text with its Targumic Background, see VÖÖBUS, *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs*, p. 105ff.

³⁷ Also the liturgical practice in Ps.-Macarius reflects the same background. «Die Syrer kannten eine abweichende Tauf liturgie: die Salbung fand vor der Wassertaufe statt und war deshalb so wichtig, weil in ihr die Geistübermittlung sich vollzog. Man hat mit Recht behauptet, diese syrische Tauf liturgie gehe auf palästinische Vorbilder zurück. So ist auch in diesem Fall Makarius dem Judentum verpflichtet, wenn er die Salbung der Christen bei der Taufe hervorhebt», G. QUISEPEL, *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle*, p. 12.

the history of early Christian literature and spirituality is involved, namely of the relationship between the *Epistula magna* by Pseudo-Macarios and the *De instituto christiano*¹ by Gregory of Nyssa. This question, one of great importance, can now be given new illumination².

In the year 1954, Jaeger asserted that the treatise of Gregory was original and the *Epistula magna* secondary, leaning heavily on the work of Gregory³. Whereas the *De instituto christiano* was an authentic work of the Cappadocian Father, the *Epistula magna*, in his view, was nothing more than an expanded metaphor of Gregory's treatise. Jaeger was convinced that he definitively resolved this literary problem. He rejoiced that he had freed Macarios from the stigma of the Messalian heresy: since the *Epistula magna* rested on Gregory's treatise, its basic views therefore must come from a Father whose orthodoxy is in perfect order.

Judging from the chorus of laudation with which his solution was greeted, the assertion that the author of the Spiritual Homilies was a disciple of Gregory came to be regarded as axiomatic⁴. For many, it had been a very touchy and disturbing matter, that Gregory, a father and luminary of the church, had depended upon a source compromised by the Messalian heresy. From this perspective, the proposed solution brought great relief.

However, new avenues have been opened up and these have thrown new light upon the background of the Spiritual Homilies. That, in turn, has created new perspectives on the matter of the literary relationship between these sources.

There is a premise which is absolutely necessary in approaching this problem. It concerns the awareness that we have to do with a different cultural background behind the *Epistula magna* and the Spiritual Homilies, a cultural background that stems from the Syrian Orient. Given such an awareness, the entire question takes on a new and different complexion vis-à-vis the issues involved. In this regard, it is the lack of knowledge about Syrian spirituality which has a physiognomy of its own which proves fatal to Jaeger's thesis. He cannot see the great coordinates in the Syrian cultural background and must therefore depend upon differences that concern little more than stylistic matters⁵.

¹ *Gregorii Nysseni opera ascetica*, ed. JAEGER-CAVARNOS-CALLAHAN VIII, 1, p. 40ff.

² VÖÖBUS, *On the Historical Importance of the Legacy of Ps.-Macarios*, p. 27ff.

³ *Two Rediscovered Works*, p. 174.

⁴ BOUYER, *La spiritualité du Nouveau Testament et des Pères*, p. 444ff.; BENZ, *Die protestantische Thebais*, p. 131.

⁵ *Two Rediscovered Works*, p. 204.

But far more is involved than stylistic differences, namely, an entirely different culture and a different understanding of religion, and only from a vantage point do new and promising observations become possible.

First, let us look at the Syrian and the Greek genius in confrontation. With regard to the arrangement of the ascetic life in practice, the *Epistula magna* presents a very clear and coherent picture. The ones ταῖς εὐχαῖς προσκατερεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἀναγκάζοντες⁶ represent a special category of monks, separated from the wider community of monks. Here an elite group comes into the limelight in the arena of ascetic struggle and spiritual exercises, devoted to constant prayer and meditation⁷. Thus two segments in the ascetic communities are distinguished from one another and the talk about them and their respective functions leave nothing to be desired in lucidity.

It becomes apparent immediately that such an indigenous Syrian form of monastic life was totally foreign to Gregory. He had no appreciation for it and that is to be expected. This can be seen in the fact that he left out the characteristic term and modified the formulations; further, when the term does slip from his pen, it is rendered meaningless in the context of the alterations he introduced into the text. Here is disclosed, in fact, a kind of blundering treatment. His metaphor, to be sure, takes over elements from the *Epistula magna* but the changes he makes entirely disregard the need for appropriate integration. As a result, that which he wrote hangs in the air and ends in confusion⁸.

Since we are moving on the terrain of ascetic life, it is instructive to examine the basic terminology of asceticism. Forcefully represented in the *Epistula magna*, for example, is the term ἀσκησις, 'anwayūtā, a central and most important conception of asceticism⁹. It is potent because of its all-inclusiveness, embracing as it does the whole of the ascetic struggle. It is a term which brings all manner of ascetic practices in mortification under a single denominator¹⁰. The bearers at this level of asceticism are ἀσκηταί 'anwāyē, whether members of the elite¹¹,

⁶ *Epistula magna*, p. 279, 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 279, 15-21.

⁸ The text dealing with two categories of monks which is crystal clear in the *Epistula magna*, has become in Gregory's hands so confused that the readers cannot see what he is talking about. See *De instituto christiano*, p. 87, 7-9.

⁹ See its position in heading the row: ἀσκησις, σπουδή, ἀγών, *Epistula magna*, p. 297, 24.

¹⁰ Περὶ δὲ τῆς φαινομένης ἀσκήσεως, *ibid.*, p. 268, 1-2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258, 3.

engaged in acts of mortification, or as those also involved in the leadership of the monastic communities¹².

As is to be expected, Gregory has no interest in the concept of asceticism represented by the *'anwayūtā*. These and other terms have found no mercy in his eyes. They have totally been left out; no traces remain. In short, they were patently too strange for his own ascetic concepts and terminology¹³.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that the same happened to another term also of a cast not popular among Greek sources. The term ἀδελφότης, *'ahūtā*, which appears so frequently in the *Epistula magna*¹⁴ is left out altogether by Gregory¹⁵.

Special interest is aroused by the preoccupation of the elite in the monasteries with prayer. This appears in a lucid treatment of the virtues in the *Epistula magna*. This «holy and spiritual chain» brings altogether eleven virtues¹⁶. It is to be expected that prayer heads the list. It is also to be expected that in addition to this position of honor, a certain elevation of this activity would be highlighted. Indeed, the text confirms this with the comment that steadfast perseverance in prayer is the sum of all good endeavors¹⁷ and the peak of all good works¹⁸. As a matter of fact, even the reasons for this are given: union with God and the kindling of the heavenly Agape occurs through prayer¹⁹. All this is in perfect accord with the religious and ascetic postulations of his author and the inner logic of his presentation.

That which the text of Gregory offers, by comparison is, indeed, very curious. He brings the same list of eleven virtues²⁰ — but he places prayer at the end²¹. It is impossible to elicit any other explanation for this then that he wished to introduce a deliberate corrective. There can be no scintilla of doubt regarding this. Yet more than is necessary is given us. The secondary character of this text is corroborated by the same

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 258, 9-11; 259, 15.

¹³ Gregory's monastic vocabulary is different and he does not use these terms in this way; Cf. VÖLKER, *Gregor von Nyssa als Mystiker*, p. 254.

¹⁴ *Epistula magna*, p. 234, 4; 256, 7.16; 257, 1; 258, 9.16.20; 271, 4; 283, 5.

¹⁵ Only in a single instance could it escape Gregory's scalpel. *De instituto christiano*, p. 67, 6.

¹⁶ *Epistula magna*, p. 268, 5ff.

¹⁷ Κεφάλαιον δὲ πάσης ἀγαθῆς σπουδῆς, *ibid.*, p. 268, 20.

¹⁸ Κορυφαῖον τῶν κατορθωμάτων, *ibid.*, p. 268, 20 - 269, 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 269, 3-9.

²⁰ *De instituto christiano*, p. 77, 15ff.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78, 4.

blundering metaphrasis which we have already noticed. Gregory's treatment of the virtues begins with the unequivocal statement that all the virtues are equal and then none should be estimated more highly than any other²². But then when he comes to the end, he suddenly says that prayer is the leader in the chorus of virtues²³. He has obviously picked up the text of the *Epistula magna* — thoughtlessly. That vacillation and confusion exhibits the same lack of integration and inner logic in his metaphrastic recast.

This case also shows how these two minds of different orientation departed from each other in their understanding of the role of pneumatism.

For the author of the *Epistula magna*, the ultimate vision of pneumatism consists in this, that it represents complete purity from shame, a complete deliverance from the passions, the full, unutterable and mystical fellowship in sanctification through the divine power of the Spirit, which becomes active in the hearts of the saints made worthy of the new, superhuman and spiritual enjoyment of the virtues²⁴. Brought into focus here is the fellowship with the Spirit²⁵ in mystical experience — the supreme desire of the passionate psyche of the Syrians.

But what becomes of such an esoteric text at the hands of Gregory? Not much is left²⁶ of the vision depicted in such glowing terms in the *Epistula magna*. Gregory's is indwelling²⁷, and with it, his corrective: such an indwelling does not produce a complete deliverance from the passion but only from every evil²⁸. Mystical experience is not within his purview and has therefore been left out entirely.

Face-to-face with such a state of affairs — these examples can be extended²⁹ — only one conclusion becomes possible for those who take the different *Sitz im Leben* in these two literary sources into account. It is quite understandable that Gregory would use a text which fascinated him because of its deep spirituality, for that interest also appears in another of his writings³⁰. But he felt it necessary to make changes, modifications

²² *Ibid.*, p. 77, 16-20.

²³ Κορυφαῖός τις τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν, *ibid.*, p. 78, 9-20.

²⁴ *Epistula magna*, p. 251, 23 - 252, 10.

²⁵ Καὶ μυστικὴν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ κοινωνίαν, *ibid.*, p. 252, 7.

²⁶ *De instituto christiano*, p. 61, 17 - 19.

²⁷ ... ἐνοίκησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, *ibid.*, p. 61, 19.

²⁸ ... πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένη κακίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ αἰσχύνης, *ibid.*, p. 61, 18-19.

²⁹ STAATS, *Gregor von Nyssa und die Messalianer*, p. 17ff.

³⁰ Evidence for this interest appears in another of his writings, namely *In suam*

and adjustments. For the author of the Spiritual Homilies, on the other hand, for this person with a far deeper grasp of religion, of supreme goals in spirituality and higher aspiration, of richer insight and more passionate fervor, such a text as Gregory's was not needed as the base for his writing. Everything we learn of his talents and gifts and of his sense of style militates against this.

Another route can advance our investigation, namely an exploration into the world of the biblical text used in the *Epistula magna*. It presents us with an archaic biblical text and thus provides us with new evidence in the quest for a solution to the question of the relationship between Gregory and the *Epistula magna*.

When this material is scrutinized, the conclusion is unavoidable. The *Epistula magna*, with its archaic readings, must be primary; furthermore, just such a text would have evoked corrections and adjustments from Gregory. Consequently, Gregory's treatise must be secondary. Moreover, as the scrutiny of the entire biblical material demonstrates, Gregory's modifications and changes exhibit blunders as we have already noted. The organic relation between the authentic lemmata and the treatment of them in the context shows disjunctions and occasionally even confusion.

Our exploration has taken us substantively forward and the new findings and insights, as a result of long research, call forth new efforts to deal with the material. It is not enough somehow to insert the results into the picture of history for results such as these change the picture itself. As a consequence, the role of Gregory of Nyssa, in the role of asceticism and mysticism, must be rewritten, and that carries with it far-reaching corollaries of considerable relevance. In the history of spirituality and mysticism, the new perspectives must take a fundamental factor, the Syrian Orient, into account.

d. Additional Salient Ideas

The Spiritual Homilies impress the reader through the richness of the pictures and figures employed. These make the reading attractive. The

ordinationem, ed. MIGNE, col. 523ff. In this writing he expresses his admiration for the Mesopotamian ascetics because of their high level of spirituality. He says that they instill a feeling of awe owing to their spiritual and pneumatic attainments. In this connection he speaks even of a resurgence of the primitive Christian ethos which made a deep impact upon society. Gregory admits that this deepening of the quest of spirituality is beneficial for Christianity as a whole.

form is commensurate with the profundity of the spiritual content. Every polemical tendency is absent and the entire scene is peaceful and serene. The homilies are thoroughly permeated with a personal pastoral flavor. The whole is presented in so simple and dignified a way that gnostic ideas and high-flying speculation find no place in them. They convey a spirit of intimacy which seeks to embrace the reader. With qualities such as this, the Spiritual Homilies have enjoyed an immense élan. Translations of them into German, English and other languages have influenced spirituality in the West, particularly in the movement of Pietism¹.

Insofar as the physiognomy of the thoughtworld of the Spiritual Homilies is concerned, one must refer first of all to its peculiar complexion. As we have already seen, these homilies flow from background related to the Messalians, a powerful movement² which once has played a very important role in ascetic and monastic circles. There is no need to bring forward everything that the heresiologies³ and historical sources⁴ have assembled. It suffices to say that the main feature of this movement was the emphasis upon the importance of an unending prayer and of waiting for the coming of the Holy Spirit, somatically experienced. This movement, in its various ramifications, represented a form of mysticism. Of course, in view of the heavy pneumatic orientation, it is natural that the church and the sacraments lost here their significance. That such a movement would come into severe conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, that was inevitable. Yet, everything represented by this movement in these homilies constitutes only no more than background for the basic tenets in the homilies which have been attenuated to such a degree that virtually nothing provocative is left behind. However, the original atmosphere is nevertheless discernable.

The Spiritual Homilies deal with the way that leads man to his true destiny. In that connection, the idea of regaining paradise is very prominent. An entire homily is devoted to this central theme⁵. It comes up again and again. It is clear that the monastic life represents the return of man to the place he belongs, namely, heavenly paradise.

¹ BENZ, *Die protestantische Thebais*, p. 131ff.

² VÖÖBUS, *Les messaliens et les réformes de Baršauma de Nisibe*.

³ KMOSKO, *Liber graduum*, Introductio.

⁴ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient II*, p. 147ff.

⁵ *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien XXXVII*, ed. DÖRRIES-KLOSTERMANN-KROEGER, p. 265ff.

The path goes from obedience to the gospel injunctions to the imitation of Christ, the supreme example.

This avenue involves a very hard struggle⁶, one which determines growth in the spiritual life and victory over all the passions. Main components in the discipline to be followed are asceticism and prayer. The importance of the prayer is presented in such a way that in the struggle besides asceticism, it occupies the most important role alongside with asceticism. Its significance at this very point in the struggle is clearly emphasized. Prayer must always take place in an internally concentrated way and in connection with a steady examination of one's thoughts. The prayer life imparts a quasi-liturgical aspect to ascetic practice.

Not only is prayer at the top of the list of spiritual activities, its function also is understood in singular fashion. Prayer is seen to be not only an avenue to spiritual growth but also as an instrument for supernatural experiences. Expectations with regard to prayer are boundless — they lead to a rapture which carries one into the unfathomable depths of the eternal world whose bliss is to be tasted during the trance⁷.

One aspect which must be singled out in the thoughtworld of the Spiritual Homilies is the gift of grace. The homilies constantly issue admonitions about the self-delusion that monastic schema and ascetic practices alone are sufficient. Warnings against the idea of justification by way of ascetic achievement, affirming that perfection cannot be reached in that way nor without the assistance of the Spirit, frequently appear. Grace, though, is foreign to human nature, must be joined or connected with it and be absorbed by it. In order to become free of evil, the help of the grace of God is utterly necessary. Only with such grace is it possible to overcome evil in the heart. Only in that fashion is a cleansed and sanctified heart possible.

The Spiritual Homilies encourage ascetics to devote themselves to perseverance and patience with respect to the gift of grace — for God does not give His grace immediately; first He waits and observes the ascetic in his practice. On the experience of grace and the reception of its gifts, the homilies caution that such an occurrence cannot be taken as a sign that the soul is fully illumined; grace visits one initially only in part. The admonitions against the pride of ascetics about the reception of the charisma⁸ thus are frequent.

⁶ Besides the term *ἀγών* used most frequently to express the struggle there are other terms; the most characteristic are: *πόλεμος*, *πάλη*, *κάματος*, *ἄθλησις*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 2-3, p. 77ff.

⁸ Another serious warning is this that grace can withdraw itself and leave the ascetic.

The author insists, just as in the case of evil, so too in that of grace that it is perceived and apprehended by the inner man. The Spiritual Homilies display a very lively awareness of the working of the Spirit. The Spirit is the source for many charismata and levels of grace. The experience of the Spirit is a *Leitmotif* which thoroughly permeates all the texts of this source. All progress in the realm of the Spirit is contingent upon it. It is a *conditio sine qua non*⁹. The author has suffused his homilies with experiences, investing them with a special quality.

In view of the pneumatic world-view in the homilies, the role of the earthly church and its sacraments recede into the background. All interest belongs only to the heavenly church¹⁰. As a result, the church and its sacraments can have only a spiritualized meaning. That which is really important in baptism is the second baptism, a mystical renewal in Christ which belongs only to the perfect.

The level of perfection is nothing else than a gift of the Spirit. It is a condition where the passions disappear and complete freedom occurs. Perfection is an absolute freedom from all passions and, as such, is the sanctification of the soul.

This state is described in different terms. One such is *ἀνάπαυσις*, a deeper spiritual experience, an attainment, climbing up the ladder of spiritual pursuit to the level of enlightenment, to an inexpressable mystical illumination and an ineffable fellowship with the unseen world. These ideas root in very ancient strata in ancient Syrian ascetic thought as is particularly manifested in the Odes of Solomon — especially rich in this respect¹¹ — and in the Acts of Thomas¹². We have to do with the idea: *neyaḥa* «rest». This level is described as the attainment of such a plateau in the pursuit of spiritual life that the language of the ancients, the gifts of prophecy, all knowledge and all the gifts of healing appear to the author as nothing by comparison with the experiences of the perfect love which embraces the soul¹³. That is to say, the appearance of the true

⁹ This is illustrated by the meaning given to the parable of the Ten Virgins. According to this, the oil used by the five prudent virgins is the oil of the Spirit, *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien* IV, 6, p. 31; *Neue Homilien* XXVIII, p. 165; *Epistula magna*, p. 274f.

¹⁰ ἡ ἐπουράνιος ἐκκλησία, *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien* XXXVIII, 3; cf. I, 3; 15, 45-51; XXVII, 4, p. 40; οὐρανοῖς ἐκκλησία, XXV, 7, *ibid.*, p. 35; ἡ ἐπουράνιος ἐκκλησία τῶν ἁγίων XLIV, 4, p. 10.

¹¹ Ode III, 5; XI, 12; XXV, 12; XXVI, 6; XXX, 2-3.7; XII, ed. MINGANA.

¹² Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, ed. WRIGHT, *passim*.

¹³ *Epistula magna*, p. 250f.

light of God developed into a mysticism of light phenomena; upon occasion, this divine light is also described as divine fire.

The picture of mysticism in the thoughtworld of the Spiritual Homilies would not be adequate without reference to two particularly significant aspects.

One of these which plays a very important role in the thoughtworld of the Spiritual Homilies is the spiritualization of the cross. Imagery is developed into a monastic mysticism of the cross. According to this author, Christ's followers are mystically crucified with him. One consequence of this imagery is this, that it leads to suffering¹⁴. This idea becomes the very foundation for the theology of martyrdom which permeates the entire thoughtworld.

Intensive contemplation found new ideas to invest the cross with new meanings, nourishing exuberant speculations. Christ is the true wood of the cross — and from the wood of the cross he wanted to bloom up to paradise¹⁵. The cross also appears in visions as the cross of light when the ascetic has attained the level of perfection¹⁶. The author also dwells on the imagery of the imprint of the cross: Christ imprints the sign of the cross into the soul¹⁷. This experience is the deepest one can perceive for this imprinted cross it since leads to deification¹⁸.

The other important aspect in this mystical imagery circles around the «image» of God¹⁹. This theme is presented in all of its variations. The author speaks of the new «image», then of the heavenly «image», then of the celestial «fire» which makes the heavenly «image». An ascetic must pray to Christ that his own «image» will light up the soul. This term is enriched with another vivid picture in which Christ is compared with a painter, as one who, with his spirit and the nature of light²⁰, paints an «image» according to his own image — an idea which recalls a Manichaean theme²¹. The author also speaks of the restitution of the «image»²². The realization of the heavenly «image» means the

¹⁴ *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien* XV, 11-12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XLVII, 15.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, 3.

¹⁷ σημείον καὶ σίγνον ... τοῦ κυρίου ἐντυπούμενον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, *ibid.* XXX, 5; cf. XXV, 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XV, 35.

¹⁹ Genesis I, 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XXX, 5.

²¹ *A Manichaean Psalm Book* CCXXIII, ed. ALLBERRY II, p. 11.

²² *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien* XI, 6; XXVI, 1-2; XXX, 5; *Neue Homilien* CXXXVI, 1.

spiritual rebirth. After this has taken place, the ascetic is restored to the condition of Adam and, moreover, can become even more excellent than the first man²³.

²³ *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien* XVI, 4.

⁴ *Nomocanon*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 110f.

tism — with all the consequences that this entailed — which caused in many quarters grave concern to those who followed this development with an eye of suspicion and a sense of alarm⁵. It is instructive to notice that the monasteries with which Rabbūlā had contact were of a special character. These were those characterized as relying «on God's grace»⁶. This form of monastic communities refers to a type which allowed coenobitism, making a concession to this form of life, but which rejected more advanced and developed forms, cutting away all possibilities for growth and development. By the way, the brief description of the monastery where Rabbūlā received his first impressions, made the first steps towards monastic discipline and received his monastic training, portrays this type of coenobitism⁷. It belonged to the same type of communal life. This fact is significant since it unfolds a phenomenon which is not isolated.

Historically speaking, we have before us a very important document for the history of Syrian monasticism. The cycle is not only the oldest exponent of the monastic rules in this genre. But it is particularly valuable because it comes from a very early stage in the development of the coenobitic form of life. It stems from a time when efforts were being made to erect a dam against the waves and streams of newer trends which were threatening the simple and primitive structure of the ascetic life. The way to more elaborate patterns was not to be encouraged.

From this man comes the earliest cycle of rules with the particular idiosyncrasies of this kind. In every way they bear the stamp of a strong position taken against expanding progress in the interest of the archaic Syrian traditions⁸.

The canons talk about various matters in monastic life but they are not so informative about certain aspects which in other cases have found a more ample illumination cycles of monastic canons. Obviously these canons were intended to deal only with actual matters requiring close attention and vigilance. That is why these canons do not tell us about the routine of ascetic life in the monastic community nor about the timetable for the daily exercises, ascetic and religious. The canons also remain silent about organizational and administrative matters about which we would like to know much more.

⁵ VÖÖBUS, «Sur le développement de la phase cénobitique», p. 401 ff.

⁶ *Opera selecta*, p. 205₂₂₋₂₄.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 167f.

⁸ VÖÖBUS, «Le reflet du monachisme primitif», p. 299ff.

It is time to give the word to the canons themselves and listen to what they have to tell us about the monastic communities fostered by the bishop of Edessa in his diocese.

c. *The canons*

Admonitions for the monks by Mār Rabbūlā, bishop of Edessa

1. Above all things the monks must take care that women never enter their monasteries.
2. The brothers of the monastery shall not enter the villages except only the *sā'ūrā*¹ who enters a village or a town shall not go around to the guest houses and pass the night with secular people, but only in the church or monastery if there is one night.
4. The monks shall not drink wine so that they will not blaspheme; especially are they to take pains that they do not buy (it) and drink.
5. The monks shall not grow hair and put on iron (weights) and hang (something on their bodies) except only those who confine themselves and do not go out of the place.
6. The *sā'ūrē* who go out on business of the monastery shall not put on garments of hair, nor shall any of the brothers outside the monastery, so that they will not despise the honor of the monastic garb.
7. None of the monks shall distribute² oil, especially to women; however, if there is one who evidently has the charisma³, he shall give oil to men; and when there are women who are afflicted with sickness, it shall be sent to them through their husbands.
8. The commemoration feasts in the monastery shall not take place in the gathering of the people but only with the brothers of this monastery.
9. The monks shall not possess the goods of sheep nor of goats nor of horses and mules nor of other animals, except for one donkey (for those) who need it, or one yoke of oxen (for those) who seed (the field).
10. Books which are outside the faith of the church, shall not be (kept) in the monasteries.
11. There shall be no business affairs of buying and selling in the monasteries, except only for that which is sufficient for their needs, without greediness.

¹ *ܣܳܐܳܘܳܪܳܐ*.

² Lit.: «make».

³ *ܣܳܐܳܘܳܪܳܐ*.

12. None of those brothers who are in the monasteries shall possess anything privately for himself besides that which belongs to the community of brothers and is under the authority of the abbots⁴.

13. The abbots shall not allow the brothers to meet with their relatives nor that they go out and go to them, in order that they do not relax (in their zeal).

14. The brothers shall not leave their monasteries under the pretext of sicknesses, and roam in the towns and villages, but shall endure their pains in the monasteries for the sake of God's love.

15. The monks shall not leave their residence and suborn⁵ the judges by themselves on behalf⁶ of others, and go into the towns or to the judges.

16. The monks shall not, under the pretext of occupation and work, fail the times that are appointed for the worship service (by) day and (by) night.

17. They shall receive strangers kindly, and shall not close the door in the face of one of the brothers.

18. None of the brothers shall dwell in isolation except he who has given proof regarding his works over a long period of time.

19. None of the monks shall give⁷ answers from the book (of the Scriptures) to any one.

20. None of the brothers, if he is not a presbyter or a deacon, shall dare to give the eucharist.

21. (For) those who are (to be) priests and deacons in the monasteries and to whom churches in the villages are to be entrusted, the abbots in their monasteries shall appoint those who have shown proof of reliability and are able to guide the brotherhood, and those shall remain in their churches.

22. Bones of the martyrs shall not be found in the monasteries but everyone who has them shall bring them to us so that, if they are genuine, (they) shall be honored in the martyria, but if not, these shall be placed in the cemetery.

23. Those of the monks who wish to make the *gūrṇē*⁹ of the dead for them, shall hide them in the ground, so that these shall not be seen at all.

24. When a brother or an abbot of one of the monasteries departs

⁴ ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ.

⁵ ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ.

⁶ lit.: «in the person», πρόσωπον.

⁷ Lit.: «carry».

⁸ ܡܢ ܕܡܢ.

from this world, those brothers of this monastery alone shall bury him in quietness; and if they are not sufficient (for this), they shall call brothers from the monastery that is near to them (to be) with them, and shall not gather (the people) from the villages and lay people for the procession.

25. If one shall sell the crop for the benefit of the monastery, he shall not take anything more than (the price) as it is selling at the time of that threshing-season, so shall he sell, in order that he will not covet in behalf of the monastery.

26. None shall receive a brother who moves from monastery to monastery without the word (assignment) of the abbot with whom he was (domiciled).

This is the account of the canons for the monks. The supplement which comes from another cycle of canons prepared by the very same Rabbūlā is very meager; it is included in a cycle prepared by Rabbūlā for the clergy and the *qeyāmā*⁹. But since they put certain other aspects of the monastic life on display they are welcome and follow here immediately.

15. The priests and deacons shall take care of monks who are in their territories; they shall take care of them as of their (own) members.

The shall also encourage¹⁰ lay people so that they will share (of their goods) for the bodily (needs of the monks).

Also that women shall not enter inside the gates of their monasteries.

22. The *periodeutae*¹¹ or the priests or deacons shall not stay in (public) lodgings or in an inn¹² when they enter a town, but they shall stay in the *xenodocheion*¹³ of the church or in the monasteries outside.

29. Send into the monasteries the *benai qeyāmā* or the *benat qeyāmā*, who have fallen from the ranks, for repentance.

⁹ A critical edition of this has appeared in: *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 26-56.

¹⁰ Lit.: «excite».

¹¹ περιόδευτής.

¹² ܡܢ ܕܡܢ.

¹³ ξενοδοχεῖον. So the rendering appears in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,652, fol. 125a-131a.; the codex comes from the 6th cent., WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 651f. It is absent in Ms. Paris Syr. 62, fol. 227a-229d, in a manuscript that comes from the 9th cent.; ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue*, p. 22ff. Ms. Birmingham Ming. Syr. 8, fol. 148b-152b, of the year 1911 A.D., MINGANA, *Catalogue* i, col. 25ff., and Ms. Šarfeh Patr., Syr. 73, fol. 164b-168b, of the 19th cent., belong to the same company.

A new witness lies in Ms. Paris Syr. 62¹⁸. A century younger, it stems from the ninth century¹⁹. This specimen unfolds the accelerated progress of revision²⁰. This type, full-blown in revision, appears in the company of a larger number of manuscripts which our search has brought to the light²¹.

The broad stream of the transmission is marked by a reworked structure, with the reversed sequence²², with an accretion²³ and with an omission²⁴. In vain does one seek for motives to justify the changes in the sequence of the canons. A new pattern has thus been imprinted on this type of the cycle. The redaction has moved in various directions. It has also involved linguistic refinement. Eclectic and syntactically uneasy places were smoothened out and renderings which evoked negative reaction were culled out. Attempts at greater accuracy and precision, as felt necessary, were made. Particularly conspicuous were those tried in connection with the canons dealing with relatives²⁵, religious activities²⁶, prophecies²⁷, law courts²⁸ and arrangements for the funerals of brothers²⁹ and abbots³⁰. Some deliberate changes correcting archaic

¹⁸ Fol. 226a-227a.

¹⁹ ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue*, p. 29.

²⁰ Only in some places the original text has escaped redaction.

²¹ Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 73, fol. 162a-164b, of the year 1911 A.D. Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 87, fol. 175a-176a, of the year 1907. Ms. Birmingham Ming. Syr. 8, fol. 147a-148b, of the year 1911, cf. MINGANA, *Catalogue* I, col. 22ff. Ms. Mardin Orth. 322, fol. 67a-68b; Ms. Mardin Orth. 327, fol. 103b-105a; Ms. Mardin Orth. 337, fol. 58b-60b, both manuscripts are not much older. Ms. Mosul Orth. 187, fol. 77a-78a, copied in the year 1921; Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/2, fol. 59b-61b, copied in the year 1938; Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/1, fol. 73a-75a, copied in the year 1941 A.D.

²² In this cycle the sequences of the canons has been rearranged as follows: 1, 7-8, 15-16, 19, 25, 2-6, 9-14, 17-18, 21-24 and 26.

²³ Can. 17 taken from the cycle for the clergy and the *qeyāmā*.

²⁴ Can. 20 is absent.

²⁵ Can. 13 forbids the brothers to meet with their relatives and to visit them so that they do not relax in their zeal. The redaction gives a stronger explanation: *ܐܠܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ* «through an intercourse that is not useful».

²⁶ Can. 7 forbids the monks to distribute *ܕܡܝܬܐ* «oil». The redaction explains what is meant by this: *ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ* «the oil of prayer».

²⁷ Can. 19 forbids the monks to use *ܕܡܝܬܐ* «book» for the purpose of prophecies. The recast text, however, reads here: *ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ* «the Holy Scriptures».

²⁸ Can. 15 forbids any lawsuits undertaken for *ܕܡܝܬܐ* «for others». The revised form reads however: *ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ* «for the poor».

²⁹ In Can. 24 in the case of a funeral if the physical strength of the monastic community is not sufficient, the monks are allowed to invite «brothers» from another monastery. The

practices which had in the course of time become inevitable, were introduced³¹.

There is still another paradigm of the cycle³², one whose extent has been reduced³³ and which textually takes a separate place in the history of the tradition³⁴.

Finally one must mention a recension which has been burdened through reworking and change. I refer to the form which Bar 'Ebrāyā has included in his work of codification³⁵. The cycle in this form of the tradition also was put into circulation³⁶.

As our inquiry has shown, the textual transmission of these cycles unfolds an interesting history echoing the various trends, currents and streams, sometimes conflicting, in Syrian monasticism. These trends have left their marks upon the wording and revision of these canons. These changes or modifications speak of the need for the adaptation and revision of norms which, in the progress of time must have appeared to have been too rigid for the growing monastic communities. Thus these variants open up to us instructive perspectives on the evolving metamorphosis. This look into the labyrinth of the ramifications of the oldest Syrian monastic legislative document is a most interesting phenomenon. Behind these various retouches one can see the needs dictated by time.

2. THE RULES ATTRIBUTED TO 'APHRĒM

a. The source

There was a time when only a single cycle of monastic canons was known, namely, the monastic canons of Rabbūlā. Continuous searching

rendering is revised to mean: *ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ* «the other brothers for their help». The same canon forbids to invite «lay people»; for the same purpose the text is corrected to read: *ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ* «lay people and women».

³⁰ In the same Can. 24 which regulates the arrangement for the funerals for the «brothers and abbots» a redaction has reduced the text which speaks only of abbots.

³¹ According to Can. 9 the monastic community could own only *ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ* «one donkey». Instead of this straightforward regulation the redaction reads: *ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ* «only donkeys».

³² Ms. Cambridge Add. 2023, fol. 238b-239a, of the 13th cent.; WRIGHT-COOK, *Catalogue* II, p. 600; cf. 621.

³³ This cycle is without Can. 5-7, 10, 15, 20-24 and 26.

³⁴ Particularly because of smaller alterations, transpositions and omissions.

³⁵ *Nomocanon* ed. BEDJAN, p. 110f.

³⁶ Ms. Berlin Sach. 335, fol. 59a-61b.

has brought many such documents out of their hiding places in the Syrian Orient and our knowledge of this genre of monastic legislation in Syrian monasticism has been considerably broadened. We can no longer complain about sources of this nature since we possess more than we could ever have expected to unearth. A problem, however, has arisen. It concerns the chronological side and the background of these sources. In this stage there is no other way to advance research than to test them on the basis of intrinsic evidence in order to draw some conclusions. The first such document concerns the rules which have been attributed to 'Aphrēm.

A cycle of injunctions cast into an acrostic¹ claims the right to bear 'Aphrēm's name. The question is, this cycle under the title «Admonitions of Mār 'Aphrēm arranged according to the alphabet»² stems from 'Aphrēm himself, this giant among the monastic authorities? What we find in the authentic part of this letter³ and the original works⁴ designed for the furtherance and propagation of monastic life, does not encourage us to answer this question in the affirmative. On the contrary, everyone who has become acquainted with 'Aphrēm's views is led to the recognition that 'Aphrēm certainly would have had much more to say about the meaning of monastic life and the ascetic profession⁵; he would not have neglected to include the fundamental concept of the ascetic existence⁶, but would have poured something out of the burning lava of his experience of mortification into his expositions. In the light of these authentic documents, the rules appear too general and too colorless to be 'Aphrēm's. Furthermore they are formed in accordance with the pattern of wisdom literature, and constitute a conglomerate wherein very disparate elements and admonitions of a general kind stand side-by-side with concrete prescriptions.

Upon analysis, the formulations employed in the rules seem to leave the impression that some of 'Aphrēm's works were used as a basis. Indeed, certain phrases sound very much like those of 'Aphrēm⁷. In this instance, the piece is not the only example of the use of 'Aphrēm's works

¹ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1B, p. 359ff.

² ܐܠܦ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܪ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

³ VÖÖBUS, *A Letter of Ephrem to the Mountaineers*.

⁴ VÖÖBUS, *Untersuchungen über die Authentizität*, p. 4ff.; ID. «Beiträge zur kritischen Sichtung», p. 48ff.

⁵ VÖÖBUS, «Le reflet du monachisme primitif», p. 200ff.

⁶ VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 94ff.

⁷ See particularly Can. 16, 17 and 18.

for the purpose of extracting rules⁸. From this point of view, it is not so surprising that these rules could circulate under 'Aphrēm's name. It is also altogether understandable that tradition claims that the Edessene master left rules for the monks⁹.

On the other hand it is equally clear that the composition of the rules belongs to a period after 'Aphrēm's lifetime¹⁰. It is evident that these rules have the problems of the monastic community in view. Some of the rules have the definite purpose of meeting the needs of common life in the monastery, especially those involving the instruction of the novices. This alone is sufficient evidence that these rules belong to a period later than that of 'Aphrēm. Coenobitism does not belong to the sphere of his interest and in the rare instances where it does appear, it is peripheral¹¹. As far as evidence reaches, 'Aphrēm never shows interest in the problems of the communal life. All his sharing of thought and encouragement reveals his affection for the anchoritic form of monasticism. These remarks find support in the observation that the vocabulary used in the rules is not that of 'Aphrēm.

Only one codex¹² Ms. Mosul Syr. 99¹³ has preserved this cycle of rules.

b. The Canons

Admonitions of Mār 'Aphrēm Arranged According to the Alphabet

1. Abraham was justified by his works. My brother, be vigilant in

⁸ Ms. Mus. Borgia Arm. 60, fol. 62b contains such a cycle of rules based on 'Aphrēm's homilies on virginity, and translated into Armenian. Also Ms. Tübingen Ma XIII, 92, fol. 146a ff. That 'Aphrēm's writings were used completely or partly in this way of extracting commandments, is a claim which the tradition presents. Among the unknown sources for this genre instructive examples appear in Ms. Mosul Chald. 1003, p. 91-101 representing ܐܠܦ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܪ ܐܦܪܝܡ as ascribed to 'Aphrēm, and Ms. Midyat Gülçe 9, quire 9, fol. 4a-10b which presents ܐܠܦ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܪ ܐܦܪܝܡ for Christians; about the manuscript, see VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* I, p. 73f. A unique place belongs to «the canons for the scribes», preserved in Ms. Mardin Orth. 565, fol. 281b-282a.

⁹ Ms. Paris Syr. 136, fol. 246b.

¹⁰ VÖÖBUS, «Die Rolle der Regeln im syrischen Mönchtum», p. 386ff.

¹¹ See particularly the chapter «Groundlines of 'Aphrēm's Role in the History of the Syrian Monasticism», VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 125ff.

¹² Cf. *Studia syriaca*, p. 9f.

¹³ The manuscript has been described by Rahmani, *ibid.*, p. 56. Is this Ms. Mosul Syr. 99, in the library of the Chaldean patriarchate. Cf. SCHER, «Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques du patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul», p. 253.

your true teaching which you receive from your teachers. Nothing should be before your sight except a continuous obedience.

2. When you are walking on the street, dignify your steps and discipline your look and control your countenance; also do not eat anything on the street in order that the discipleship (of monasticism) will not be despised.

3. Select for yourself foremost diligence in learning¹; give great honor to your fathers, to your masters, and to those who see you; your brothers will profit from you, and your companions will imitate the manner (of life) of your steadfastness.

4. (Above) good gold and precious stones and good gems and (emeralds) receive that which is the heavenly learning; and especially — above all your possessions — be diligent to obtain the truth.

5. Be a good example to your brothers and companions; and present continuous obedience in all matters and diligence on learning².

6. And if you are being sent on business, say what you have been told, do not say something (else) instead of this and (thereby) cause disturbance to those who sent you, and you would (then) be in trouble; moreover, add nothing nor reduce (anything).

7. Purify the mind of your boyhood, and approach the learning wholeheartedly³ (well), and you will be worthy of the instruction of your masters, and you will teach (others) in like manner as they.

8. Make yourself wise (so that you may stay away) from all manners of your bodyhood⁴; remove from you all the works of boyhood and you will find good things for yourself.

9. It is good for you that you are being educated in the fear of your masters; and become humble and chaste and disciplined, and do not become undisciplined.

10. Noble is the youth who is being praised by those who behold it, and is being blessed by his Creator.

11. Rebuke the habits of youth that they may not multiply upon you and subdue you; and take care diligently in order that they will not be added, one upon another.

12. Do not become weary of resisting foul deeds; and if you set your

¹ Or: «doctrine».

² Or: «doctrine».

³ Lit.: «entirely».

⁴ Or: «youth».

(desire) on lust, (even) with great labor you will scarcely attain your desire.

13. When the vainglorious (thoughts) increase against you like in a child, take refuge⁵ at the throne⁶ of the Creator and inter them there.

14. Evil works of men are a devouring fire; and there is no limit to the evil that enslaves them.

15. Hope in the deliverance by him to whose throne⁷ you take refuge⁸; and say as the Son of Jesse: «Teach me, Lord, the way of Thy commandments and I shall keep them»; and again say: «How love I Thy law! It is my meditation all the day»⁹.

16. Exercise yourself in the holy psalms and behold you will save yourself like a bird from the snare of a hunter.

17. Slip your feet from the nooses of guile by meditating on the law of the Lord day and night.

18. Your hunter is unceasing and shrewd — (but) there is the Artificer, God, and he is able to free you from his guile.

19. Call on God for your help, and he will make of you a disciple of steadfastness.

Reconcile God by your service that you will not be accused because of one of the manners — because of jocular talk or because of laughter in order that you may not (bring) punishment upon your (own) head.

21. Praise God who made you worthy of his (monastic) institution; and pray for your masters who have been wearied, by labor, because of you; and for your fathers who have brought you to (monastic) instruction.

22. Let oaths to the Lord be far more honored by you than anything (so) that you shall guard¹⁰ your conversation¹¹ and not drop your word in the community of your brothers¹² and companions except (saying) «It is so» — «It is not so»; in this way you will be honored before God and by men.

⁵ Lit.: «run».

⁶ Lit.: «door».

⁷ Lit.: «door».

⁸ Lit.: «run».

⁹ Psalm CXIX, 33, 97.

¹⁰ Lit.: «remember».

¹¹ Lit.: «in your mouth».

¹² Or: «among your brothers».

into his focus¹⁸ and lays stress upon the disposition¹⁹. Ishāq commends the strife and struggle with the soul and he evaluates ascetic acts from the point of view of the help they provide in the struggle to win dominance of the soul over the body²⁰. From this perspective, he allows himself the use of rather liberal statements. He speaks of fasting while eating, and of abstinence while drinking. He can even say: «Load your table with foods but your cup with God's praise»²¹. Thus he submits the idea of mortification to a severe critique²². He even ventures to say that the Apostle reprimands those who are so rigorously reckless with their bodies²³ and sneers at everything connected with the idea of mortification²⁴.

Ishāq opens significant insights for us, allowing us to view certain features in the development of the monastic movement, thus contributing to our historical knowledge. One of these lets us see the rapid growth of monasteries among the Syrians. The expansion of the coenobitic form of monastic life which Ishāq's *mēmre* visualizes for us is very impressive. Many monasteries have emerged in this large-scale movement. The scenery had totally been changed and the landscape transformed by their great numbers. In one place where Ishāq speaks of people seized by the spirit of rapture which moved them to undertake pilgrimages, he states that among them there were those who were eager to visit up to a hundred monasteries and to lay down their vows there²⁵.

This historical development had become a source of concern and worry for Ishāq. It nagged him to such a degree that he had to find a way to vent his concern. As suitable occasions present themselves, he did just that.

This development is related to a phenomenon which began to flourish towards the end of the fourth century and took on ever increasing dimensions. Nothing less than a transformation in the monastic world of the Syrians was making itself felt²⁶. The scene changed radically and took on a new complexion. Instead of primitive dwelling places and small

¹⁸ *Homilae*, ed. BEDJAN I, p. 83.

¹⁹ *Opera omnia* I, p. 266.

²⁰ *Ibid.* I, p. 250.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 264, 266.

²² *Ibid.*, II, p. 262ff.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 263f.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 254f., 260.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 306.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 146.

monastic communities, expanded institutions and great monastic communities emerged. Ishāq compares these new monastic edifices with palaces²⁷. Of course, the development was greatly fostered by such emperors as Arcadios and Theodosios who even put the state treasury at its disposal²⁸. This is the same as that to be seen in another area where Syrian influence was operating. It is sufficient to mention here the name of Catholicos Nerses, the personage who is connected with a large-scale building program of monasteries equipped not only with the sacred buildings but also with the tombs of the dignitaries²⁹. A look at the development in Armenia also helps us the better to understand that which took place in Syria and Mesopotamia.

In connection with this development, other phenomena emerged which seriously disturbed Ishāq. He became very concerned over the fact that these monastic communities were furnished with fields, plantations, gardens and flocks of animals and herds³⁰. That such a development involved grave consequences which Ishāq viewed with the deepest of misgiving is patent — the monks had changed their profession for that of farmers.

Not only that, the role of the monks in society had also taken a new turn. They had left the quiet places in the deserts and mountains and had taken on a new role in public life. Ishāq is convinced that the monks now enjoy too much publicity, too much honor so that even the high officials themselves go before these men in monastic garment. In his eyes, this development could only endanger and imperil the conception of the ascetic movement, as well as the integrity and dignity of the spiritual athletes³¹.

Ishāq highlights the ancient monastic ideal of poverty and privation and tries to inculcate these ancient ideas in his ascetic readers. He issues dire warnings and appeals to a return to the ideal of poverty. His appeals become more and more urgent, calling forth the whole of his persuasion, eloquence and cogency of argument. Ishāq invests all of his strength to muster devout minds to remain faithful to this most basic ideal and to defend it against the subtle dangers which threaten it. On one occasion, Ishāq summarizes his message in the following way: «A bird builds its

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 338.

²⁸ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* II, p. 122, 172, 174f., 225, 240.

²⁹ *Sop'erk' haykakank'* VI, p. 19f.

³⁰ *Opera omnia* II, p. 288.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 186, 188, 238.

— possessions in the wilderness»⁹. That all this is only an outward expression of a constantly increasing new factor in the monastic development — i.e., physical work — is self-evident. That is what troubles the heart of the author of the *mēmra*¹⁰. He is thoroughly agitated at the sight of monks seizing plows with such energy that it threatens to kill monastic life itself¹¹. The extent of Ishāq's concern is also reflected in his repeated and most urgent appeals to his monastic readers. Using the power of his persuasion, he tries to win the monk back to the lost ideal — once again to abandon work, money and possessions, and to return to the ideal of poverty¹². He cannot, however, conceal his feelings of resignation — the negative phenomena have penetrated monasticism too deeply.

Another text bears the title¹³: «A *mēmṛā* about a refutation against the brothers»¹⁴. It is very similar to the *mēmṛā* described. It unfolds the same situation in the stream of transmission as does the preceding one. According to some manuscripts, the treatise is ascribed to 'Aphrēm¹⁵, according to others it is from Ishāq's pen¹⁶. The same rift appears throughout the edition of the text. In the edition of Lamy, it appears as a work of 'Aphrēm¹⁷ but in that of Bedjan, it has found its place in the corpus of the works of Ishāq of Antioch¹⁸. Exploration in the Syrian Orient has brought many new and unknown sources to the light¹⁹.

⁹ מן האלה קאמער: אפער. ארז' דעס קליף און אפער א' *ibid.*, col. 229.

¹⁰ Iṣḥāq says with bitter sarcasm that land and sea are not enough for the mercantile spirit — it has also invaded the deserts, *ibid.*, col. 229.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, col. 229, 237.

¹² *Ibid.*, col. 237.

13 כִּי־יִשְׁכַּח וְיִשְׁכַּח וְיִשְׁכַּח.

¹⁴ Its *incipit* runs: כח ויחלץ ויחלץ.

¹⁵ A codex in Mosul used in *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY IV, col. 141; Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,262, fol. 213bff., WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 867ff.

¹⁶ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12,166, fol. 95aff. which comes from the 6th cent., see WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 674ff.; about other manuscripts see VÖÖBUS, *Literary-Critical and Historical Studies*, p. 90.

¹⁷ *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY IV, col. 241 ff.

¹⁸ *Homiliae*, ed. BEDJAN I, p. 13ff.

¹⁹ Ms. 'Alqōš 246, fol. 6b-11a; Ms. 'Alqōš 247, quire 11, p. 5-17; Ms. Baghdad Patr. 6033, p. 186-198; Ms. Monastery of Gīwargī which has no signature has cardboard covers and its measurements are 22 × 16cm., fol. 45a-51b; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 30, fol. 152a-159a; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 218, fol. 4b-7b; Ms. Mardin Orth. 74, fol. 45a-51b; Ms. Mardin Orth. 143a, fol. 140a-152b; concerning the manuscripts in Mardin, see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

Much that has already been said about the preceding treatise is valid also for this text. Both have so much in common that they can be considered as kindred texts.

That which has already been observed about the developed phase in the history of monasticism, is mirrored in this *mēmra*. It tells us that an enormous growth in the monastic establishments had occurred²⁰. Buildings, plantations and gardens had been created and cultivated to such a degree that our author had become deeply annoyed by the zeal of these undertakings²¹ which even ignited competition²².

The negative results of this evolution are depicted in the same fashion as in the preceding treatise. The work and the amount of energy which the maintenance of these extended and large monastic communities demanded, unfold the degree of degeneration that had taken place²³. The author has become acutely critical of all this, and holds that it has become a decadent epoch inspired by greediness and avidity²⁴. He brings all the gravamina together in evidence against this period of decline, this deterioration produced during this most recent phase in coenobitism²⁵.

It is the intention of this *mēmṛā* to muster the strength of its ascetic readers in order to build a bulwark of resistance against the undulation of such dangerous phenomena. It reaches its culmination in an urgent appeal to the monks to renounce the plow together with all these transactions and items of business²⁶ and to return to the time-honored ideal of poverty²⁷.

d. *Other Related Sources*

Ishāq's monastic thought, which in its basic features has been already delineated, also appears with variations in a number of other sources. Indeed, there is even a cycle of such which has been incorporated in the vademecum of Syrian monks and ascetics who have made use of its services for the propagation of the same basic ideas.

²⁰ *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY IV, col. 257.

²¹ *Ibid.*, col. 253.

²² *Ibid.*, col. 251, 253.

²³ *Ibid.*, col. 255, 257.

²⁴ His verdict is: *ḥayyānā ḥayyānā : ḥayyānā ḥayyānā* «behold, the victorious ones are planning how they may become luxurious», *ibid.*, col. 253, cf. col. 259.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 243.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 261.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 241, 243, 251, 255.

The next *mēmṛā* to be introduced bears the title: «On privation»³. Here, too, new sources have come to our disposal⁴.

The third *mēmṛā* to be introduced has been variously recorded in manuscript sources. The variation appears between the title «On monks» and «On perfection»⁵. Most of the time it appears among the works of Iṣḥāq but occasionally it also bears 'Aphrēm's name. Also here do we welcome the enrichment that has come from unknown manuscript sources⁶.

Another *mēmṛā* bears the title: «On the admonition of the solitaires»⁷ but in some manuscripts the title has been simplified: «On monks». In some manuscripts the *mēmṛā* appears under the wrong flag bearing the name of 'Aphrēm. For the transmission of the text of this *mēmṛā*, newly discovered sources make important contributions⁸.

There is still another *mēmṛā* bearing the title «On monks»⁹ and with a slight variation of the title in other manuscripts. The number of witnesses to the text has been increased by the discovery of unknown sources¹⁰.

The last *mēmṛā* to be introduced also differs in title. Some manuscripts read «On perfection» but others «On perfection and privation»¹¹. For the transmission of the text, newly discovered sources render a valuable contribution¹².

³ Its incipit reads: ܐܢܝ ܢܚܝܠ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

⁴ Ms. 'Alqōš 246, fol. 54b-58a; Ms. Mardin Orth. 143a, fol. 20a-30a; about these manuscripts, see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*; Ms. Mosul Orth. 146, p. 22ff.; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 218, fol. 96b-99a.

⁵ Its incipit reads: ܡܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

⁶ Ms. Jerusalem Mark 284, fol. 20b-33b; Ms. Mardin Orth. 74, fol. 90b-99a; Ms. Mardin Orth. 75, fol. 34aff.; Ms. Mardin Orth. 140, p. 272-291; Ms. Mardin Orth. 157, fol. 77b-87a; Ms. Mardin Orth. 169, fol. 187a-188b; Ms. Mardin Orth. 446, quire 13, fol. 3a - quire 14, fol. 3a; about these manuscripts in Mardin, see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*; Ms. Midyat Gülçe 9, quire 8, fol. 9a-9b.

⁷ Its incipit reads: ܡܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

⁸ Ms. 'Alqōš 253, quire 17, p. 10-16; Ms. Baghdad Patr. 3122, p. 306-314; Ms. Baghdad Patr. 6023, p. 229-235; Ms. Mardin Orth. 142, p. 50-55, see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 30, fol. 140a-152a.

⁹ Its incipit reads: ܡܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

¹⁰ Ms. Diyarbekir Başaranlar 19, fol. 148a-150a; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 30, fol. 159a-161b; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 218, fol. 89b-91a.

¹¹ Its incipit reads: ܡܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

¹² Ms. 'Alqōš 246, fol. 101a-104a; Ms. Mardin Orth. 74, fol. 1b-14a; Ms. Mardin Orth. 143a, fol. 157a-157b; about these manuscripts in Mardin, see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*; Ms. Mosul Orth. 146, p. 164ff.

2. THE WRITINGS UNDER THE NAME OF JÖHANNĀN THE SOLITARY

a. *The Sources*

The oldest witnesses to these materials in the Syriac manuscript tradition identify the writer as Jōhannān *iḥidāyā*, «the solitary». But these sources are beset by very complicated problems.

Hausherr, in the year 1935, raised this question when he called attention to a very urgent task in this field of study: «C'est du reste un des *desiderata* les plus urgents de l'histoire de la mystique»¹. The publication of three letters by Jōhannān the Solitary² was hailed as an event which brought a great spiritual author out of the realm of oblivion³. Indeed, it was a significant event for it inaugurated interest in works bearing the name of Jōhannān the Solitary, and soon other works began to appear. A dialogue about the soul and the affects of men⁴ came out but under the name of Johannes of Lycopolis⁵. A cycle of three treatises soon followed⁶, and then, after a longer interval, the conversations with Thomasios, both letters and treatises⁷. Finally also his tract on prayer⁸. Since in a letter under his name edited by Rignell⁹, there emerged a quotation in which Bābai is introduced as a text of Jōhannān *iḥidāyā* from Apamea¹⁰, it has become customary to regard this as sufficient reason to declare the author of all these writings to be Jōhannān of Apamea.

A glance at the oldest attainable collections of the writings preserved under the name of Jōhannān the Solitary reveal the perplexity of the problems in the transmission of these textual materials. A glance at this must be taken before our discussion moves on.

The oldest collection of these writings appears in a codex which is very old, a venerable document written in the year 581¹¹. This most ancient

¹ HAUSHERR, «Le messalianisme», p. 635.

² Briefe, ed. RIGNELL.

³ HAUHERR, «Un grand auteur spirituel retrouvé», p. 3ff.

⁴ *Ein Dialog*, ed. DEDERING. A French translation was prepared by Hausherr, «Jean le solitaire - Pseudo Jean de Lycopolis».

⁵ Hausherr showed that the author of the dialogue was not Johannes of Lycopolis but a Syrian, namely Jōhannān the Solitary. «Un grand auteur spirituel retrouvé», p. 3ff.

⁶ *Drei Traktate*, ed. RIGNELL.

⁷ *Johannes von Apamea*, ed. STROTHMANN.

⁸ «John the Solitary on Prayer», ed. BROCK, p. 84ff.

⁹ Briefe, ed. RIGNELL, p. 19.

¹⁰ *Evagrios Ponticus*, ed. FRANKENBERG, p. 135.

¹¹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,169, WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 451ff.

collection is comprised of nine works which come into account. It starts with a cycle of four conversations with Eutropios and Eusebios, brings the first letter to Theodoulos and then the first letter to Eutropios and Eusebios. It also includes very disparate texts, consisting of an exegetical piece¹², of two tracts¹³ and two letters each to a monastery — documents which have been preserved only in this source¹⁴.

The next ancient collection, about a century younger, comprises altogether seven writings, but the material represented here is multi-hued: it presents an exegetical piece¹⁶, a treatise¹⁷, materials under a wrong flag¹⁸, a letter¹⁹, followed by a collection of sentences²⁰, and concluded by a commentary on Job. The second part of the codex²¹ which is of the ninth century offers two more writings though both of these have been wrongly ascribed to Jōhannān²².

The third ancient collection comes from a manuscript written in the year 774/5²³ and contains altogether eighteen writings which come into account. The first six bear the namely two treatises²⁴, a conversation between a teacher and his pupils, exegetical pieces²⁵, four treatises²⁶, and a letter²⁷. Another letter²⁸ follows, leading to a cycle of writings clustered around Thomasios, namely a letter and three treatises sent to Thomasios «On the order of salvation of Christ», and a letter to

¹² Exegesis on Mt. V, 4.

¹³ «On pride and arrogance», and another treatise without title but on the same subject.

¹⁴ The first to the monastery of recluses «On peace» and «On love» sent to another monastery. There is also a tract on the subject why the good are afflicted.

¹⁵ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 18,814, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 734ff.

¹⁶ The same exegetical piece on Mt. V, 4.

¹⁷ «On the health of the soul».

¹⁸ Two discourses but they have been wrongly included here since they were taken from the *Liber graduum*, as this is correctly stated by a later hand at the margin.

¹⁹ A letter sent to Hesukios.

²⁰ Namely the first cycle.

²¹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 18,814, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 798ff.

²² «On four virtues» has been wrongly inserted here because it is a homily by Monk Isaiah. The same is the case with the second text «Be watchful», as this is nothing else than an excerpt taken from the *Liber graduum* and the *Historia monachorum*, see STROTHMANN, *Johannes von Apamea*, p. 41.

²³ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,170, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 454ff.

²⁴ «The new world», namely the second treatise, and «The fulfillment of the promises in the future and the new life».

²⁵ Exegesis on Mt. V, 3; V, 9, V, 8; Rom. VIII, 18; Eph. VI, 12.

²⁶ «Exhortation to love», «Rules and orders», «Exhortation to virtue», «Conciliatory address to those who are persecuted for the sake of the Messiah».

²⁷ Sent to Marcianus.

²⁸ Sent to Hesukios.

Thomasios. A doxology concludes this collection. A subscription, however, admits that this volume containing the works of Jōhannān the Solitary, also includes some writings from other authors²⁹.

The most extensive collection of writings under the name of Jōhannān the Solitary has been preserved in a codex which comes from the eighth or the ninth century³⁰. This collection is introduced by an exegetical piece³¹ followed by a letter³² which is followed by a combination of treatises³³ and exegetical pieces³⁴. Then comes the «Dialogue between a teacher and his disciple» and the first collection of the sentences, followed by three treatises³⁵ and a letter sent to Eubolos, the advocate³⁶. Now comes a block of texts connected with Thomasios, namely six conversations, a letter written by Thomasios to Jōhannān, a letter written by Jōhannān to Thomasios, Jōhannān's reply which he sent with two treatises «On the order of salvation», followed by the second letter to Eutropios and Eusebios. Then come two treatises «On the holy Trinity». Then two letters sent to Theodoulos³⁷ and a tract on the «Mysteries of baptism»³⁸ conclude this long collection.

The total legacy bearing the name of Jōhannān, however, must have been larger for in his writings Jōhannān refers to other works which he had composed but which have not survived.

The oldest collections give us an idea about the way different strata, the oldest and those of later origin, have grown together, become interlaced and intertwined in the various collections. No less variegated is the marking of the sources which appear under the name of Jōhannān the Solitary, Mār Jōhannān, often marked by an abbreviated note «the same» and also often without any name. This is the state of textual materials in which historical research has to find its way.

Fortunately, this corpus of material preserved in Syriac manuscripts can be augmented by unknown sources which our systematic search and

²⁹ Fol. 88a.

³⁰ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12,170, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 746ff.

³¹ Exegesis on Mt. V, 3.

³² Sent to Hesukios.

³³ «On victorious life and conduct» and two treatises titled, «On fast».

³⁴ Exegesis on Luke XVIII, 11; John XVI, 16 and Mt. XXVI, 63.

³⁵ «On diligence in good actions», «Admonitions» and «On grace».

³⁶ «That God is incomprehensible».

³⁷ Namely the first and the second letter.

³⁸ The second collection of the sentences concludes this collection.

recovery program has elicited from their hiding places in the Syrian Orient³⁹.

b. *Jōhannān's Charisma*

This time we have to do with very extraordinary material. Judging from the manuscript evidence, the writings bearing the name of Jōhannān must have been celebrated as among the most important ascetic and mystical writings in Syriac. These writings exercise a special attraction of their own. First of all, the author whose face becomes visible from writings impresses us as an original thinker and author¹. The one who speaks here speaks with extraordinary authority as a pneumatic. Out of his sense of calling this solitary promulgated his mission from his cell as a spiritual advisor, counselor and charismatic teacher. His charisma must have prompted ascetics to go to see him in person. His fame reached them and they felt an irresistible desire to leave their cells and receive the benefits of his teachings from his own lips. Closer contacts were thus created with fellow solitaires, and after they returned to their cells they found new inspiration for their thoughts which impelled them to write to their spiritual leader in order to obtain further instruction and advice. Monks from the east who knew him brought news about him to others who were drawn to him and wished to sit at his feet². His conversations with the disciples in general moved at a high level in the theological arena. Among the questions addressed were these: the economy of salvation, the problem why man was not created with an everlasting life, why man was created with a body to be finally transformed later on, revelations and visions of the order of divine salvation, the future hope and the metamorphosis of man in the coming life. The conversations also involve such different themes as the foundation of the world, salvation, the order of nature, the soul, the nature of demons and the hierarchy of angels. However, despite the variegation of the themes and the subjects discussed, the materials reveal the ultimate aim of this charismatic teacher — to guide his disciples to the realization of the importance of the new life and the knowledge of the new world.

³⁹ Among numerous manuscripts with monastic sources the most important is Ms. Mār Mattai 27.

¹ STROTHMANN, *Johannes von Apamea*, p. 62ff.

² The case of Thomasios can serve as an illustration. Although a solitary, he left his cell in Palestine and spent many days in undertaking the journey to reach the famous solitary and known him in person.

It has been felt by countless readers that this Jōhannān the Solitary is a witness to the knowledge of the new world, a teacher of its glory, a proclaimer of the mysteries which have been revealed to him. Thus it is no wonder that he, as the leading spirit in the realm of spirituality, did not confine himself in these writings to doctrinal boundaries with the result that his works were welcomed and celebrated also by the East Syrians. The degree of their impact is demonstrated very eloquently in the manuscript tradition and in the quotations cited by East Syrian authors. These sources are telling. An ascetic author of the first rank is portrayed in these records. The judgement of Bābai, who theologically was not in the same camp, must be accorded particular importance. In the introduction of his great work, he makes a judgement about teachers in theology and asceticism and introduces the names of Evagrius, Jōhannān the Solitary and Theodor of Mopsvestia³. Indeed, perhaps no greater honor could be conferred than by an eminent Nestorian author, one ranking Jōhannān the Solitary among such liminaries. A very prominent figure who supports Jōhannān is Dadīšō' of Bēt Qaṭrāyē, an eminent ascetic author of the seventh century, who quotes him frequently⁴. He does the same, too, in his commentary⁵ where he admires the teacher of asceticism as «a seer and prophet». He, too, comes from the Nestorian fold. Thus several eminent Nestorian authors have showered Jōhannān with highest of honorific titles.

In Monophysite circles, Jōhannān the Solitary is also deeply appreciated as the testimony of Mōšē bar Kēphā⁶ and Dionysios bar Šalībī⁷, and also Bar 'Ebrāyā attest⁸. The sources portray the author of these writings as a first-rank authority. There is, indeed, no other legacy in this genre which has had such dynamic power, so much so that it secured respect in both camps of Syrian Christianity and maintained its influence for a long time. The witness of history speaks loudly of the power of the charisma conveyed by these writings.

³ *Evagrius Ponticus*, ed. FRANKENBERG, p. 17f.

⁴ In his work «On the rest» he quotes the work of Jōhannān to have written a treatise on the same subject, *Traktate*, ed. RIGNELL, p. 3ff. By the way, this writing was edited wrongly under the name of Ishāq of Ninive, *De perfectione religiosa*, p. 601ff. Under the correct name the treatise was edited in *Early Christian Mystics*, ed. MINGANA, p. 201ff.

⁵ This commentary was composed on the writings of Monk Isaiah in Ms. Vatican Syr. 496. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Inventaire*, p. 27. This manuscript goes back to Ms. Seert. 74, SCHER, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques de Séert*.

⁶ He speak of Jōhannān in his work on the paradise.

⁷ *Commentarii in evangelia*, ed. VASCHALDE, p. 17ff.

⁸ *Ethicon*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 271, 396.

c. *The Physiognomy of His Writings*

Coming to the writings themselves, the question of original language should not detain us long. Long ago it was noticed that Syriac was the original language of these writings¹. The fact that no Greek works under the name of Jōhannān the Solitary have appeared can scarcely be used as a basis for such a judgement. There is positive evidence that these writings were composed not in Greek² but in Syriac. On this matter in general there can be no doubt though caution in some cases may be necessary. The thought patterns flow smoothly from Syriac traditions. The style also is characteristically Semitic. Observations which have been made about the linguistic side of these writings³ suggest strongly that Syriac was the original language. This, of course, does not mean that we should overlook texts which, though put under the name of Jōhannān the Solitary deserve reservation in this respect⁴.

The literary physiognomy of this material is rather colorful. This is already the case in the genres which have been used. Its manifoldness appears in such different forms as conversations, discussions, discourses, didactic texts, treatises, tracts and letters. The pictures and imagery are drawn from the tradition. These writings, whose words and pictures are mainly drawn from the biblical traditions, are impressive. Seldom do these writings quote sources other than the Scriptures. But the fact that these writings reveal a quite extensive knowledge of medical science⁵, is very conspicuous. It is not yet certain just how this predilection for medical imagery is properly to be understood. It has been felt that the tradition has preserved a satisfactory answer to this question⁶. However, in the face of such a phenomenon, one should not overlook the fact that it is not unique. Other Syrian authors in the same genre of spirituality have gained satisfaction through the use of medical imagery. This, too, is the case with 'Aphrahaṭ.

The colorful physiognomy of these writings is amplified by the

¹ ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca orient.*, p. 431.

² How 'Abdīšō' in his literary history could count him among the Greek authors is a riddle. See p. 50.

³ STROTHMANN, *Johannes von Apamea*, p. 47ff.

⁴ Regarding the third letter published by Rignell there are symptoms which cannot be easily overlooked. Here the author does not quote the Peshittā nor the Syro-Hexapla but the text of the Septuagint. See VÖÖBUS, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac I*, p. 79.

⁵ Theodoros bar Kōnī calls him even a medic, *Liber scholiorum*, ed. SCHER, p. 331.

⁶ See page 101, 107f.

knowledge of Greek philosophy contained in them. It must be concluded that the author must have acquired this knowledge from his reading of the works of Greek authors⁷. On the other hand, it is important to observe that although these writings are acquainted with Greek philosophy⁸ and surprise us with their medical terminology⁹, these writings do not dwell on philosophical speculation and scientifically oriented arguments, but are animated from streams in the realm of biblical tradition, drawing their inspiration from the sacred Scriptures. That is, these writings stand far away from far-reaching speculations, reflecting an intellectual mode of treating spirituality. These materials leave the clear impression that they belong to the stream of ancient Syrian traditions of spirituality. The Greek philosophical way of thinking and scientific mystical spirituality as represented in the writings of Evagrius have not touched the currents which are flowing in these channels.

d. *Jōhannān's Salient Ideas*

First of all, the life and death of Christ constitute fundamental ground. This event has had such an impact that it has brought salvation even to the world of the angels. Baptism¹ constitutes the gate² to the new life precisely because the one who receives baptism has already entered the sphere of new life³. Indeed, Jōhannān the Solitary has written a special work on this entitled «On the Mystery of Baptism».

These writings follow the tradition of the three-fold scheme to describe the arduous road towards perfection: the corporeal, psychical and the spiritual. His conception for this scheme is this, that the bodily poverty means the privation of possessions; the psychic, freedom from hateful thoughts; and the spiritual, that signifies the richness of knowledge⁴.

⁷ This must be concluded from his disputations with the Greek philosophers about the problems of the Christian faith and from his use of philosophical arguments in discussing particular issues, and from the instructions he gave to his pupils regarding the attacks of the philosophers against Christianity.

⁸ He mentions Epicur and Plato, *Johannes von Apamea*, ed. STROTHMANN, p. 7f.

⁹ He quotes even a sentence of Hippocrates, «The world is short but the art is long», *Ein Dialog*, ed. DEDERING, p. 76. This sentence is only slightly different from the original Greek: ὁ μὲν βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή, LUCIAN, *Hermotimos*, ed. JACOBITZ, p. 335, 375. This correct form of the sentence in Syriac appears in POGNON, *Une version syriaque des aphorismes d'Hippocrate*, I, p. 4; II, p. 1: ܠܐܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

¹ *Drei Traktate*, ed. RIGNELL, p. 13-24.

² ܠܐܝܬ.

³ *Briefe*, ed. RIGNELL, p. 16, cf. p. 12.

⁴ *Ein Dialog*, ed. DEDERING, p. 85.

employed for the spiritual elatedness of the soul above everything earthly.

Jōhannān provides an even closer insight into the mystical experiences meant by this concept. He describes the sequel of stages by which the solitary ascends this road. He describes five stages of silence: the silence of the tongue, the silence of the whole body, the silence of the soul, the silence of the mind, and finally, the silence of the spirit. The last one is the ultimate in silent prayer and adoration: «The silence of the spirit is when the mind ceases even from stirrings caused by created spiritual beings and all of its movements stirred solely by Being in wondrous awe of the silence which surrounds Being»³². This «wondrous awe» or «the wonder of silence»³³ is the culmination of perfection.

In this highest of stages, the solitary is prepared for ultimate illumination. He receives something which is far higher than ordinary knowledge: «This distinguishes itself from knowledge through the perception³⁴ of perfect wisdom, which is the perfection and light of knowledge, which means the seeing³⁵ of that one who was prophetically told, that he wanted to be visible to them who love him and follow his commandments»³⁶. Whoever attains this last stage «receives divine revelation»³⁷ and «sees spiritual secrets»³⁸. This is the ultimate and limitless illumination and the disclosure of mysteries designated by the concept of *θεωρία* to which the author adds the Syriac equivalent³⁹. Obviously, as has already been observed⁴⁰, Jōhannān understands this exalted condition as «the wondrous awe of silence» apparently understood in the same way as the experience is described by Ishāq of Nineve when he speaks of the «cutting off» of prayer in ecstasy⁴¹.

For fellowship with God in the new world, terms which convey intimacy⁴² are used.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 91, cf. p. 99.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *ܚܝܠܝܐ*.

³⁵ Here not the later technical term *ܚܝܠܝܐ* but *ܚܝܠܐ* is employed.

³⁶ In his treatise «On rest», *Traktate*, ed. RIGNELL, p. 3.

³⁷ *Ein Dialog*, ed. DEDERING, p. 61.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³⁹ *Traktate*, ed. RIGNELL, p. 22.

⁴⁰ Cf. KHALIFÉ-HACHEM, «La prière pure et la prière spirituelle», p. 157ff.

⁴¹ *De perfectione religiosa*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 166, 490.

⁴² One is *ܚܝܠܝܐ*, «being of the same household» and also «friendship», «intimacy»; the other term is *ܚܝܠܝܐ*, «fellowship», «communion».

Before leaving these observations, a retrospective look becomes necessary in order to grasp the sources for the dynamics which these writings exhale. Jōhannān the Solitary speaks as a charismatic teacher, aware that he had personally received the gift of the higher knowledge of the new life and had received revelations⁴³ from God. Such a self-consciousness of being inspired through immediate illumination from God has given him the authority to speak of the new world with a personal assurance and a confident testimony which constitutes a firm position besides the Scriptures in his perspective. The author is firmly grounded in the ancient stream of charismatic thought in asceticism.

e. Identification of Jōhannān

Concerning the circumstances of the life of this Jōhannān the Solitary very little can be said. There is a lack of reliable information. Very complicated problems regarding the identity of the author enshroud the question of this personality and they have a longer history behind them. Cureton, several generations ago, asserted that Jōhannān the Solitary must be identified with Johannes of Lycopolis¹. This opinion endured for a long time until it was rejected by Hausherr². Gradually literary critical work has clarified certain question which had created confusion³. A certain relief was felt when Jōhannān of Apamea was rescued from the pages of the commentary of Bābai as we have already seen. Since then, it has been felt that the problem of identity has been advanced; it has become customary to speak of the author as Jōhannān of Apamea.

This sense of relief, however, is deceptive. It did not mean that a way out of the conundrum had been found. Tradition has been more confusing than helpful. According to it, Jōhannān of Apamea went to Alexandria, learned there medicine and logic and then returned to the

⁴³ His disciple Thomasios mentions in his discussions the hymns composed by Jōhannān the Solitary, and that reading them he became convinced that Jōhannān must have received particular revelations. This was the main reason which compelled him to undertake his journey from his cell in Palestine to visit Jōhannān. *Briefe, des Thomasios*, ed. STROTHMANN.

¹ *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 351.

² HAUSHERR, «Les débuts de la littérature mystique syriaque», p. 348f.; «Aux origines de la mystique syrienne», p. 497ff.

³ Hausherr showed that the sentences which were published by WENSINCK, *New Data Concerning Syriac Mystic Literature*, p. 1ff., do not stem from Jōhannān of Apamea, «Les débuts de la littérature mystique syriaque», p. 348f.

area of Apamea⁴. He then became deeply involved in heretical doctrines. Whether this Jōhannān of Apamea is the same person as Jōhannān the Solitary, is, indeed, difficult to say⁵. According to a solid tradition, Jōhannān of Apamea was condemned because of his heretical views at the synod held under Catholicos Timotheos I. This took place because of his teaching about the seeing of God. This condemnation also involved other visionaries: Joseph Hazzāyā and Jōhannān of Dalyātā⁶. Another source, however, comments that this action of condemnation was actually undertaken because of envy⁷. It would appear that there ought to be no problem in identifying the person of this Jōhannān of Apamea with Jōhannān the Solitary. However, serious complications come from the tradition that Jōhannān of Apamea was the same heretic against whom Philoxenos fought, namely the companion of Stephen bar Šūdaylē. This claim causes serious complications and arouses suspicion⁸. In view of this confusing situation, it has been felt⁹ that there were actually two persons, each carrying the name Jōhannān, with both having lived in the area of Apamea¹⁰. It is readily understandable that scholars would look in this direction. In this connection a proposal was recently presented to reckon with no less than three different persons who carried the same name¹¹. On the basis of all the traditions, it is inevitable that one would reckon with several persons behind Jōhannān the Solitary. All the circumstances have created traditions, legitimate and illegitimate, which throughout the centuries have grown together in such a way that it may no longer be possible to separate them completely. at

⁴ There he entered the monastery of Mār Šem'ōn where he incited some monks to accept his heretical views. Theodoros bar Kōnī, *Liber scholiorum*, ed. SCHER, p. 331.

⁵ Jōhannān is introduced as a heretic involved deeply in all kinds of gnostic speculations and also docetic christology. The same charges have been repeated by Michael Syrus, *Chronique*, éd. CHABOT II, p. 250f., IV, p. 313. The same stories were taken over by Bar 'Ebrāyā, *Chronicon eccl.*, ed. ABBELOOS-LAMY I, col. 221ff. STROTHMANN, *Johannes von Apamea*, p. 97 tries to explain these charges so that Jōhannān's teachings became the source for such exaggerated and corrupted deductions.

⁶ See page 336.

⁷ IŠO'DENAH, *Le livre de la chasteté*, p. 64.

⁸ This view has not found approval by everyone, HAUSHERR, «Jean le Solitaire», p. 24ff.

⁹ CHABOT, «Éclaircissements sur quelques points de la littérature syriaque», p. 260ff.

¹⁰ Baumstark reckoned with two persons, Jōhannān of Apamea at Orontes and another Jōhannān of Apamea in Mesopotamia, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 166f., and p. 226.

¹¹ GUILLAUMONT, *Les Képhalaia Gnostica d'Évagre*, p. 269, 317 for the first Jōhannān p. 317f. for the second, and p. 317 and 335 for the third Jōhannān.

all. Once the tradition enmeshed him in heresy, sources began to flow with fabricated information in an uncontrolled development — that has always been the fate of those whom the heresiarchs have implicated. Not only has the disrepute of a heretic cast a cloud over the circumstances of the life of Jōhannān the Solitary, but confusion with another homonym or even a third has added to the conundrum.

While this conundrum will stay to trouble researchers, that should not diminish the great advantage of having these literary sources at our disposal, sources which had enjoyed an exceptional attraction and nourished countless minds in monasteries, cells and deserts. Everything presented in these materials outweighs by far all the depressing problems about the identity of the author or authors. It is encouraging that in this corpus of all kinds of texts, a kernel of writings, coherent in thought-world and theological orientation, begins to show its contours¹². Such an analysis is the only way to give any hope in the effort to explore how many persons are hidden behind the name of Jōhannān.

The most important facts lie elsewhere. The earliest manuscripts with writings of Jōhannān the Solitary stem from the sixth century. This fact provides solid direction as to the time of composition. The evidence points to the fifth century. The rest of the information must come from intrinsic evidence itself as found in these writings.

At least one fact has a bearing on this question; it has to do with the vision of christology unfolded in these pages. Christology is presented at a point in time which reveals no polemical atmosphere at all. That which is presented here unfolds a time before the christological controversies arose. According to everything that can be ascertained indicates the second half of the fifth century is the time for the oldest stratum of all these materials. Stylistic considerations confirm these observations. Finally, these find additional support by phenomena drawn from the history of Syrian spirituality. There are strong indications that the place of Jōhannān the Solitary in the ranks of most eminent ascetic authors must be one before the time of Philoxenos.

¹² The conversations and letters to Eutropios and Eusebios, ed. DEDERING, p. 1-27, 28-54, 55-79 and 80-93; *Briefe*, ed. RIGNELL, p. 40-82 and 83-120. Then two letters to Theodoulos, ed. RIGNELL, p. 3-39 and *Traktate*, ed. RIGNELL, p. 25-40; Six conversations with Thomasios and one letter, ed. STROTHMANN, and his reply in three treatises, also published by STROTHMANN, *Johannes von Apamea*, p. 56.

3. THE CONTRIBUTION OF JA'QÖB OF SERÜG

a. *The Monastic Thought in His Letters*

In tracing the monastic thought of Ja'qöb of Serüg, it is advisable to concentrate on his writings in prose, that is, his letters. In that respect, a spiritual letter which treats the basic issues of ascetic life comes into account in the first place.

This first source at our disposal bears the title: «A letter to Paulā, the solitary»¹. Another manuscript also includes the subject matter of the letter in the title: «To Paulā, on the flight from the world and from possessions»². This source is one which presents us with quintessence of the ideas of ascetic wisdom and which has the purpose of providing practical advice; it is the aim of the letter to come to the aid³ of the monk and to equip him in his fight against the internal enemies which rise to bedevil those who have embarked on the road of monasticism. The letter wants to encourage such persons to persevere in their ascetic struggles and to furnish incentives for advances in spiritual maturity. It is characteristic of Ja'qöb, at the end of his letter, to refer to the fact that he has not written about such deep matters as a master to his disciple but rather as a lesser member to a more esteemed member in the family of those who strive towards higher spiritual goals⁴.

Ja'qöb begins with the initial stage on the road to ascetic virtues. This has to do with the very first stage of discipleship⁵, one which begins with the distribution of goods to the poor. It is the first step, altogether necessary for anyone who chooses the path to a deeper religious life. This act does not and cannot make one perfect but it serves as an introduction to what is to come.

In order to produce the arguments in support of the perseverance required to follow this road, Ja'qöb employs the traditional biblical imagery. 'Aphrēm⁶ in his Letter to the Mountaineers⁷ had used the

¹ ܬܠܬܐ ܠܦܠܐܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܝܐܩܒܐ ܕܫܪܘܓ. Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,587, WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 517ff.

² ܬܠܬܐ ܠܦܠܐܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܝܐܩܒܐ ܕܫܪܘܓ ܕܡܢ ܕܝܐܩܒܐ ܕܫܪܘܓ. Ms. Berlin Sachau 352. *Epistulae quotquot supersunt*, ed. OLINDER, p. 42ff. Cf. ALBERT, «Une lettre spirituelle de Jacques de Saroug», p. 65ff.

³ ܬܠܬܐ, *Epistulae*, ed. OLINDER, p. 44₂₃.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45₂₁₋₂₂.

⁵ ܬܠܬܐ, *ibid.*, p. 43₁₅₋₁₆.

⁶ *Opera selecta*, ed. OVERBECK, p. 126f.

⁷ VÖÖBUS, *A Letter of Ephrem to the Mountaineers*.

episode of Lot, of the Lot who despite the action of his wife, heeded the warning and did not turn around. Ja'qöb draws upon the same typology when dealing with the episode of Sodom. The one who fled from Sodom but was still so attached to as to turn around became a statue of salt⁸; that one's heart was still bound by that land and so she perished. «(However) the wise Lot who went out from Sodom, as a perfect disciple, from an evil world, did not turn around because he knew Sodom»⁹. That was how Lot became a symbol of admonition for monks. This typology is all the more important for Ja'qöb because it had been sanctioned by Jesus himself¹⁰: «Because of this our admirable teacher, Jesus Christ, has set a pattern¹¹, by (his example) of the departure of Lot and his wife, of the road of discipleship»¹².

The second stage on the road to monasticism is as elevated as it is exalted. The ascetic person gradually moves into ever deeper realms. That which is involved here is the imitation of the life of Jesus: «For it is not from selling one's possession and giving (it) to the poor that one becomes perfect but from this (fact), that he goes after him»¹³. This theme of the imitation of the life of Christ occupies the central position in Ja'qöb's ascetical spirituality¹⁴.

The central idea of imitation leads to the theme of the cross: «For every soul which has sensed that God has been crucified for it, the marvel¹⁵ of the cross moves¹⁶ it and it shall not slip¹⁷ and shall not be brought into subjection to the desires of a world full of all the evils»¹⁸.

⁸ Genesis XIX, 26.

⁹ ܬܠܬܐ ܠܦܠܐܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܝܐܩܒܐ ܕܫܪܘܓ. Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,587, WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 517ff. Cf. ALBERT, «Une lettre spirituelle de Jacques de Saroug», p. 65ff.

¹⁰ Luke XVII, 32.

¹¹ ܬܠܬܐ, «aid», «succour»; the variant reading offers ܬܠܬܐ «a memorial», see also OLINDER, *The Letters of Jacob of Sarug*, p. 31.

¹² ܬܠܬܐ ܠܦܠܐܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܝܐܩܒܐ ܕܫܪܘܓ. Ms. Berlin Sachau 352. *Epistulae quotquot supersunt*, ed. OLINDER, p. 42ff. Cf. ALBERT, «Une lettre spirituelle de Jacques de Saroug», p. 65ff.

¹³ ܬܠܬܐ ܠܦܠܐܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܝܐܩܒܐ ܕܫܪܘܓ. Ms. Berlin Sachau 352. *Epistulae quotquot supersunt*, ed. OLINDER, p. 42ff. Cf. ALBERT, «Une lettre spirituelle de Jacques de Saroug», p. 65ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁵ Lit.: «amazement».

¹⁶ Or: «gives an impulse».

¹⁷ Or: «becomes ensnared».

¹⁸ ܬܠܬܐ ܠܦܠܐܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܝܐܩܒܐ ܕܫܪܘܓ. Ms. Berlin Sachau 352. *Epistulae quotquot supersunt*, ed. OLINDER, p. 42ff. Cf. ALBERT, «Une lettre spirituelle de Jacques de Saroug», p. 65ff.

collections⁶. This is due to the fact that they were arranged for liturgical purposes. However, these *mēmrē* were widely circulated in collections of ascetic writings, manuals for monks and cycles of similar materials which were used in the dwelling places of the solitaries and in the cells of monks in the monasteries.

One *mēmrā* according to the oldest manuscript⁷ bears the title: «On solitaries who abandoned the world and seek after the heavenly and divine life»⁸. The same *mēmrā*⁹ also circulated under the title: «On solitaries and monks»¹⁰. In other manuscripts it appears under still other titles: «On solitaries and privations»¹¹, «On solitaries who flee from the world»¹², and «On solitaries that they should not look back»¹³. The text of the *mēmrā* has been edited by Bedjan¹⁴. In addition to manuscript sources already referred to, other new manuscript sources have emerged in the Syrian Orient¹⁵.

Another *mēmrā* bears the title: «On the solitaries»¹⁶. The same *mēmrā*¹⁷ also circulated under the titles: «On solitaries and monks»¹⁸ and «On solitaries who dwell in the desert»¹⁹. Some manuscripts have added the following to the title of this *mēmrā*: «Which he sent to his

Paris Syr. 196, ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue*, p. 140ff.; Ms. Mosul Mār Tūmā; Ms. Pampakuda 52; see VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*. The only exception is Ms. Oxford Pock. 404.

⁶ Ms. Damascus Patr. 12/13; 12/14; and 12/15; Ms. Jerusalem Mark 156; Ms. Vatican Syr. 117, ASSEMANI, *Catalogus* III, p. 91; Ms. Mardin Orth. 135; 136 and 137. Cf. VÖÖBUS, *ibid.*, II, p. 124ff.

⁷ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,598, a parchment codex of the 9th cent.; WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 731f.

⁸ VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* IV, p. 38f.

⁹ Its incipit reads: ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ.

¹⁰ Ms. Mardin Orth. 157, p. 47-81, *ibid.*, IV, p. 52f.

¹¹ Ms. Mardin Orth. 174, fol. 15aff.; *ibid.*, IV, p. 52f.

¹² Ms. Mār Mattai 27, fol. 204a-207a; *ibid.*, II, p. 30f.; Ms. Mār Mattai 287, fol. 101b-116b, *ibid.*, IV, p. 48f.; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 310, p. 514-522, *ibid.*, IV, p. 74f.

¹³ Mardin Orth. 417, quire 40, fol. 4aff., *ibid.*, IV, p. 50f.; Ms. Midyat Gülçe 9, quire 1, fol. 1b-2, fol. 2b, *ibid.*, II, p. 34f.; Ms. Midyat Gülçe 12, fol. 1bff., *ibid.*, II, p. 202f.

¹⁴ *Homiliae selectae* IV, p. 818-836.

¹⁵ Ms. Aleppo 102; Ms. Mardin Orth. 74, 143, 157, 169, 171, 174, 177, 417; Ms. Midyat Gülçe 10; Ms. Qaraqoş Sargis-Bakhos; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 38.

¹⁶ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,262, fol. 198a-208b, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 867ff.

¹⁷ Its incipit reads: ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ.

¹⁸ Ms. Jerusalem Mark 284, fol. 214b-242a, VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* IV, p. 24f.; Ms. Mardin Orth. 446, p. 324-334, *ibid.*, IV, p. 54f.

¹⁹ Ms. Br. Add. 18,817, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 803ff.

disciple who was a recluse»²⁰. Still other manuscripts include the accretion, the name of the recluse, Daniel²¹. In one manuscript the same *mēmrā* bears an entirely different title: «On battles and distinctions»²².

The text of this *mēmrā* has been edited by Bedjan²³.

The manuscript evidence in this instance has been substantially enlarged. Besides unknown manuscripts about which report was given earlier, other sources have been excised from hiding places in the Syrian Orient²⁴.

There are also inedited *mēmrē*, indeed, there are several such.

Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 30 is a heavy volume which contains a corpus of the *mēmrē* of Ja'qōb²⁵. At the end of the collection, there are *mēmrē* on monasticism²⁶. Among these, there is a *mēmrā*²⁷ which is different from those which have been known. It bears the title²⁸: «On the solitaries, monks and dwellers of the desert»²⁹.

The next *mēmrā*³⁰ in the cycle bears the title: «On solitaries»³¹ but in another manuscript it appears as «On monasticism»³² and in still another³³ it reads: «On the solitaries and privation»³⁴.

²⁰ Ms. Vatican Syr. 566, fol. 84b-100a, VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Inventaire*, p. 91ff., VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* II, p. 20f.; Ms. Mār Behnam 8/8, quire 4, fol. 7aff., *ibid.*, IV, p. 46f.; Ms. Jerusalem Mark 162, quire 25, fol. 10a-29, fol. 6b, *ibid.*, IV, p. 26f.; Ms. 284, fol. 213b-241a; Ms. Midyat Gülçe 11, quire 15, fol. 4b-17, fol. 8a, *ibid.*, II, p. 200f.; Ms. Midyat Gülçe 12, quire 25, fol. 26ff; *ibid.*, II, p. 202f.; Ms. Mardin Orth. 74, fol. 120b-140a, *ibid.*, II, p. 32f.

²¹ Ms. Paris Syr. 197, fol. 52a-71b, ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue*, p. 144ff., VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* IV, p. 64f.; Ms. Mardin Orth. 169, fol. 151a-187a, *ibid.*, IV, p. 48f. There in the description of the content the second *mēmrā* on the solitaries has unfortunately fallen out. Ms. Mardin Orth. 174, no. 5, *ibid.*, IV, p. 52f.

²² ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ, Ms. Aleppo Orth. 102, *ibid.*, IV, 2f.; this manuscript has retained a section of the *mēmrā*.

²³ *Homiliae selectae* IV, p. 836-871.

²⁴ Ms. Diyarbakir Başaranlar 19; Ms. Mār Mattai 27; Ms. Mardin Orth. 143, 157, 172, 174, 417, 418, 446; see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

²⁵ VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* I, p. 57f.

²⁶ *Mēmrā* no. 45.

²⁷ *Mēmrā* no. 44.

²⁸ ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ.

²⁹ The incipit of the *mēmrā* reads: ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ.

³⁰ The incipit reads: ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ.

³¹ Ms. Mardin Orth. 156, no. 7; *ibid.*, II, p. 38f.

³² Ms. Birmingham Ming. Syr. 466, fol. 109b-111b, MINGANA, *Catalogue* I, col. 836ff.; see also VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* IV, p. 10f.

³³ ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ.

³⁴ ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ, Ms. Jerusalem Mark 88, fol. 118b-122b; MACLER, *Notice des*

The propagation of Ja'qōb's monastic thought was not confined only to *mēmre* specifically devoted to the furtherance of ascetic spirituality. Ja'qōb's *mēmra* poetry extended as well to those which were composed on themes which easily gave opportunities for the elucidation and dissemination of ascetic ideas³⁵⁻³⁶. One cycle in particular must be singled out, one which includes *mēmre* on virginity³⁷, repentance³⁸, fasting³⁹, the *bart qeyāmā*⁴⁰, admonition⁴¹, and on certain biblical passages related to basic issues in spirituality⁴².

Yet another group of *mēmre* stood in the service of the propagation of the basic issues in monastic spirituality. This had to do with *mēmre* in honor of the most celebrated monks. Ja'qōb has composed panegyrics on 'Aphrēm⁴³, Julyānā Sābā⁴⁴, Šem'ōn the Stylite⁴⁵ and on Baršaumā⁴⁶.

Not to be overlooked is a cycle which is akin to the above. It consists of *mēmre* composed in memory of outstanding martyrs. Moreover, this cycle is even larger. Ja'qōb has composed *mēmre* on the first martyr, Stephanos, on Gūryā and Šemōnā, on Sarbīl, Ḥabbīb, Sargīs, Gīwargīs, Dimāṭ, the Forty Martyrs and on the martyrs in general.

c. The Special Role of the *Mēmre* of Ja'qōb

The popularity of the *mēmre* of Ja'qōb as attested in the manuscript tradition — in countless collections, handbooks of mixed *mēmre* and volumes of selections from ascetic authors — requires additional comment. The great service rendered by these compositions in fostering

manuscripts syriacae does not mention this manuscript; see VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* IV, p. 22f.

³⁵⁻³⁶ Note from the editor: Under the circumstances, no text could be supplied for these two footnotes, which were referring to Ms. Vatican Syr. 543, fol. 32a-33b.

³⁷ *Martyrii, qui et Sahdona*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 832-842; VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* II, p. 215; IV, p. 97.

³⁸ *Homiliae selectae*, ed. BEDJAN; VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* II, p. 215; IV, p. 95.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 217; IV, p. 97.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 97.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 217; IV, p. 97.

⁴² Particularly a *mēmra* on Matth. VIII, 20; on Matth. XVI, 26; on Matth. XIX, 16; on Matth. XIX, 27; and on Matth. XXV, 1-13.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 98.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 220; IV, p. 99.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 220; IV, p. 99.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 219; IV, p. 98.

monastic thought and in inspiring those of the ascetic life is a matter of some moment.

The quality of these materials has been conspicuous.

First of all, in Ja'qōb of Serūg, we have to do with a person of extraordinary gifts. His person was surrounded by the halo of great fame. His literary creativity¹ exceeded everything that had been produced in the genre of *mēmre*. There can scarcely be any doubt that he was most productive in his genre of literary creativity and that he was recognized in the eyes of his fellow believers as the greatest among the great. His contemporaries greeted the manifestations of his creative power with awe and respect. They speak with astonishment of the fact that during his lifetime a large staff of scribes and copyists engaged in securing his poetic production was put at his disposal². His literary heritage is supposed to have consisted of no less than seven hundred and sixty *mēmre*. That is the number of the *mēmre* which appears in Bar 'Ebrāyā³. The biography⁴ of Ja'qōb which was recently discovered⁵ speaks of seven hundred and sixty-three *mēmre*⁶. This number also appears in the biographical sketch⁷ of him which was edited by Assemani⁸ as well as in another biographical sketch⁹ published by Abbeloos¹⁰ and also in other important manuscript sources which have been unearthed¹¹.

Not only did quantity cause amazement, so did the quality of his

¹ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 148ff.; CHABOT, *Littérature syriaque*, p. 62.

² BAR 'EBRĀYĀ, *Chronicon eccl.* I, col. 191.

³ *Ibid.*, I, col. 191.

⁴ *Ḥayyūṭ wa-ṭawṭ* of Ja'qōb, ed. by VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* IV, p. 22f.

⁵ Ms. Mardin Orth. 256, fol. 1b-5a; VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*. Ms. Istanbul Maryem Ana, a huge corpus of biographical materials, has no signature; its measurements are 30 × 25,5, and the vita appears on fol. 190a-190b; the manuscript seems to come from the 16th or 17th cent. A *mēmra* by an anonymous author appears in Ms. Mār Mattai 243.

⁶ *Ḥayyūṭ wa-ṭawṭ* of Ja'qōb, ed. by VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* IV, p. 22f. Ms. Mardin Orth. 256, fol. 2b.

⁷ Ms. Vatican Syr. 37, fol. 16a.

⁸ *Bibliotheca orient.* I, p. 286ff.; also by WENIG, *Schola syriaca*, p. 43f.

⁹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12, 174, fol. 285a, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* III, p. 1123ff.

¹⁰ *De Vita et scriptis Jacobi*, p. 311f.

¹¹ The oldest witness appears in Ms. Damascus Patr. 12/18 which is of the 12th cent. Others are: Ms. Mosul Orth. 361 which comes from the 17th cent.; Ms. Damascus Patr. 9/8 was written in 1726/7 A.D.; Ms. Mardin Orth. 229 was copied in the year 1919; Ms. Mardin Orth. 275 is also a copy by a modern hand; about the manuscripts in Mardin see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

panegyricus recently made available²⁵. However, the transmission of this text is not without fault and it is therefore necessary to search for the earliest layer in the textual tradition²⁶. The text reads as follows:

«The life of the victorious ones, of just kings as of righteous ones, he disseminated into the ears of all his listeners and of the monks, the anchorites and ascetics and the mourners and of the famous and blessed martyrs spoke the elect one, and praised much their athletic contest, the purity of the single ones as well as that of the virgins, and praised the sincerity of their virginity as is right».

That which is expressed in these lines receives a powerful confirmation in manuscript sources which point to the places where his *mēmre* were gratefully used, namely, the cells of the solitaries, ascetics, mourners and monks.

IV. STIMULI FOR DEVELOPED SPIRITUALITY

1. THE CONTRIBUTION OF PHILOXENOS OF MABBŪG

a. *His Paraenetical Mēmre*

While Michael Syrus refers in very general terms to the fact that the bishop of Mabbūg has written on monasticism¹, much more is said in biographies of him. In an anonymous biography, it is stated that «he wrote on instruction to the monks and² ten books saturated with spiritual thoughts»³. Another biography by 'Elī reads: «He composed books for the solitaries and monks, ten books that they should read and profit from them»⁴.

Under the title «Paraenetical *mēmre*»⁵ Philoxenos has incorporated thirteen *mēmre*. A very impressive preservation of manuscripts reaches back into the sixth century⁶. A large number of manuscripts belongs to the later centuries⁷. In addition, the evidence includes many single *mēmre* and portions of them, and almost countless texts and excerpts in the ascetic florilegia. Evidence of such importance gives us an idea of the immense role which this work must have enjoyed in the hands of the monks and solitaries. These paraenetical *mēmre* were the most widely used of all the works of Philoxenos and were most frequently copied.

That the collection of paraenetical *mēmre*⁸ goes back to Philoxenos himself seems to raise no serious question.

There are no indications to throw light upon the chronological side

¹ *Chronique IX*, 7, éd. CHABOT, p. 258.

² Ms. Mardin Orth. 276 reads here «in».

³ MINGANA, «New Documents on Philoxenos», p. 153.

⁴ 'ELI DE QARTAMIN, *Mēmra sur Philoxène*, éd. DE HALLEUX, p. 8.

⁵ *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ βιβλία*.

⁶ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,596, of the 6th or 7th cent., WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 531. This manuscript has preserved *mēmre* X-VI and VIII-XIII. Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,612 is of the same age, WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 698 and it contains a portion of *Mēmra VII*. Among the new sources Ms. Mardin Orth. 420 is the most important since it contains all the 13 *mēmre*; long is the list of manuscripts which have preserved selected *mēmre*.

⁷ DE HALLEUX, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, p. 280ff.

⁸ About the theory which makes a distinction between two series of homilies in the present structure of the collection, see LEMOINE, *Homélies*, p. 20ff. Regarding the value of this theory see HAUSHERR, «*Spiritualité Syrienne*», p. 173ff.

²⁵ VÖÖBUS, «Ein bislang unbekanntes Sermo», p. 91.

²⁶ Ms. Jerusalem Mark 156, fol. 68b.

with regard to the composition of this important work. The entire manuscript tradition remains silent regarding this respect. Budge, the editor of the *mēmrē*, has dated the composition of this cycle to about the year 485⁹. His arguments are very general but nothing better has come to light. Lemoine has placed the composition of the *mēmrē* into the time before he was elevated to his episcopacy in the year 485¹⁰. It seems to be reasonable to assume that these *mēmrē* were composed during his episcopacy. All in all, it would have been natural for the bishop of Mabbūg to foster the spiritual needs of the monks, ascetics and nuns in his diocese¹¹.

In the introduction, Philoxenos particularly gives advice on the beginnings of ascetic life¹², «the accomplishment of the rules¹³ and exercises» and the struggle with the passions¹⁴.

The first part of the collection¹⁵ is devoted to the beginnings of the ascetic life and, according to the ascetic terminology employed in this treatment, this would represent «the corporeal stage». The second part of the collection is devoted to progress in the struggle against the passions; accordingly this would represent «the stage of the soul»¹⁶. The third part of the work, which one would have expected on the basis of some statements in the introduction to the effect that this would be about «the spiritual stage», is absent¹⁷.

He intended to speak also of the purification of the intellect in solitude¹⁸, of spiritual contemplation¹⁹ and of pure prayer²⁰. He also announced his intention to deal with the internal ascent to the «supreme stage»²¹, namely perfection²².

The *mēmrē* are dedicated to the following subject matters: on faith²³,

⁹ *Discourses*, ed. BUDGE.

¹⁰ LEMOINE, *Homélies*.

¹¹ DE HALLEUX, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, p. 287f.

¹² *Mēmrē* II-VII.

¹³ *Mēmrē* VIII-XIII.

¹⁴ *Mēmrā* I, p. 14f.

¹⁵ About this question see DE HALLEUX, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, p. 285f.

¹⁶ *Mēmrā*, I, p. 7, 10, 17, 25.

¹⁷ ܡܡܪܐ.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13²²⁻²³.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 15, 16-17.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 16.

²² *Ibid.*, I, p. 25.

²³ *Mēmrā* II-III, p. 26ff.

on simplicity²⁴, a virtue of the desert, which involves also other related themes like humility and imitation of Christ's life. The following *mēmrē* are devoted to the themes of the fear of God²⁵, renouncement²⁶, struggles in the service of asceticism²⁷ and the battle against luxury²⁸. Here the «struggle», «fight», «battle», are the terms which most frequently appear in his vocabulary.

Besides the paraenetical *mēmrē* Philoxenos has produced numerous treatises on selected subjects regarding monastic life. These have been very welcome in the collections of ascetic writings and florilegia of the monastic virtuosi. Besides the known sources, new discoveries have enriched our knowledge regarding the preservation of this legacy²⁹.

b. *Their Physiognomy*

The paraenetical *mēmrē* were designed to be a systematic treatment of all the phenomena of asceticism. They were meant to be a spiritual therapeutic. The *mēmrē* present Philoxenos as a champion of ascetic ideas who, in a fatherly way, gave his advise. These *mēmrē* were addressed to the newer members in the monastic communities, and in them, Philoxenos warns his disciples that it is not enough to withdraw from the world «externally» — the real withdrawal must be «internal» in the thoughts and in the mind, the only proper realm for the work of faith. The entire cycle is an intense spiritual appeal.

In the prologue, Philoxenos states that he has written this introduction as an encouragement to reading the wealth of things which follow after, of the way in which an ascetic should begin and how he should proceed in upbuilding the edifice of his spiritual life¹. This should take place step-by-step. Starting with the faith as the foundation of every spiritual life, Philoxenos proceeds to treat thoroughly all aspects of asceticism and

²⁴ *Mēmrā* IV-V, p. 74ff.

²⁵ *Mēmrā* VI-VII, p. 159ff.

²⁶ *Mēmrā* VIII-IX, p. 222ff.

²⁷ *Mēmrā* X-XI, p. 353ff., namely *mēmrā* X: On the lust of the belly, p. 353ff. and *mēmrā* XI, On abstinence or mortification, p. 420ff.

²⁸ *Mēmrā* XII-XIII, p. 494ff.

²⁹ From these materials there are those which must be singled out: Ms. Aleppo Orth. 102; Ms. Anhel Mār Qyriaqōs, a manuscript in quart size, which has no signature; Ms. Mardin Orth. 422, Ms. 418 and Ms. 426, see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*; Ms. Midyat Gülçe 4; Ms. Midyat Hori Melki, which has no signature; the volume is devoted to ascetic materials.

¹ *Mēmrā* I, p. 10.

guide of souls, conscious of the importance of the issues at stake. His lofty thoughts are far above quarrel and strife and Monophysite polemics. It is a work that comes to us as if from an entirely different Philoxenos.

Finally, special words are necessary about the general physiognomy of the ascetic thoughtworld. That which becomes very conspicuous in the paraenetical *mēm̄rē* is the fact that caution has been exercised in using speculative elements drawn from Greek mystical philosophy. In general, it can be said that the paraenetical *mēm̄rē* rest in their essential extent on the literary genre unfolded by 'Aphrahaṭ and 'Aphrēm. Ethical exhortations flow from the biblical traditions, borrowed from the Old as well as the New Testament. Its typology is drawn from the Book of Exodus as, for instance, in the case of the crossing of the Red Sea which is used allegorically as a symbol of monastic renouncement. Other episodes from the Old Testament have been used for the same purpose, as allegories filled with a new content. The gospels have been utilized for the same purpose. All in all, these traditions flow from age-old Syrian spirituality.

However, there are some echoes of the teachings of Evagrius. Occasionally, reflections of his influence show up¹⁹. Philoxenos also quotes the *Praktikos*²⁰, introducing its author as «one of the spiritual masters»²¹. But all these echoes and reflections are peripheral. As a result, the stream which flows from the river of ancient Syrian spirituality contains subcurrents of mystical philosophy. From this perspective, the paraenetical *mēm̄rē* do not represent the sum total spirituality of Philoxenos. In his other writings, the theological substratum, as well as the mystical philosophy, present a rather different picture.

c. Some Basic Themes

Among the themes to which special treatment is given is simplicity¹. «Simplicity then is the gift of nature, and it belongs to the Creator»². He adds that «simplicity becomes the dwelling place of God»³. Simplicity

¹⁹ DE HALLEUX, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, p. 30; HARB, «L'attitude», p. 136ff., 150ff.

²⁰ This quotation is taken from *Praktikos* I,2. The original reads: βασιλεία οὐρανῶν ἐστὶν ἀπάθεια ψυχῆς μετὰ γνώσεως τῶν ὄντων ἀληθινούς, ed. MIGNE PG XL, col. 1221.

²¹ This quotation was identified by HAUSHERR, «*Spiritualité syrienne*», p. 179.

¹ ܡܡܪܐ, *Mēm̄rā* IV. In the following *mēm̄rā* he says that the subject matter of *mēm̄rā* IV is on ܡܡܪܐ ܡܡܪܐ, *Mēm̄rā* V, p. 120₄.

² *Mēm̄rā* IV, p. 108.

³ ܡܡܪܐ ܡܡܪܐ ܡܡܪܐ ܡܡܪܐ, *Mēm̄rā* IV, p. 118₅.

permeates the life of Jesus⁴ so that his life became the perfect type of simplicity. The lines are drawn sharply between those persons who exemplified simplicity and others: John the Baptist and all those who lived in the desert were simple people⁵. This company, besides Old Testament figures, also includes Paul as a type of simple person⁶. Over against this type is placed a category consisting of Pharisees and Sadducees, representing the cunning and crafty men of this world⁷. This category represents the side of the calumniator⁸.

Then the treatment turns to the benefits of simplicity. Simplicity brings forth all the virtues⁹, and such a life is a blessing in its entire context, because it is restful—around such a person there is no contention, no strife and no quarreling. Thus «the humble garb of hair» and simplicity belong together¹⁰.

An especial *mēm̄rā* is devoted to the theme of abstinence¹¹ or mortification. That is due to its importance. What follows is a huge commentary on the logion of the gospel on the narrow road¹². For this the suitable text form of Matth. VII, 14 is chosen.

Philoxenos states: «The first rule in this field is the cultivation of fasting and abstinence»¹³. Without abstinence, none of the virtues can be cultivated at all. Therefore, his urgent admonition is: «Preserve this, O disciple, the rule¹⁴ of abstinence, then may you also arrive at the power of freedom»¹⁵. The *mēm̄rā* includes very detailed instructions¹⁶.

d. The Scheme of Three Births

Philoxenos has worked out a scheme of three births in order to depict the glorious position that belongs to the ascetics.

⁴ He taught simplicity of children, cf. Matth. XVIII, 3, p. 115f., see also p. 132f.

⁵ *Mēm̄rā* IV, p. 85ff.

⁶ *Mēm̄rā* IV, p. 86ff.

⁷ *Mēm̄rā* IV, p. 113ff.

⁸ *Mēm̄rā* V, p. 123f.

⁹ *Mēm̄rā* V, p. 118.

¹⁰ *Mēm̄rā* V, p. 122₈₋₂₀.

¹¹ ܡܡܪܐ.

¹² *Mēm̄rā* IX, p. 420ff.

¹³ *Mēm̄rā* XI, p. 42.

¹⁴ ܡܡܪܐ.

¹⁵ *Mēm̄rā* XI, p. 456₆₋₇.

¹⁶ Among other precepts it is said that the perfect disciple distances himself from the beasts and acts like a free man, *Mēm̄rā* XI, p. 433ff.

from Evagrios. These are doctrines which have entered into the thought of Philoxenos and which he made his own.

Another aspect in the concepts of mystical spirituality demands special observations. It concerns the idea of the separation of the soul from the body. Since the soul is mixed with the body, it cannot act freely according to its fine impulses and higher aspirations. The body is an impediment; it submits the soul to its desires and impulses³⁷. Therefore: «It is necessary that we separate the soul from the body before (the time that) the body would not be separated from the soul, so that we would not be precluded from the divine life»³⁸. The source for this idea of the separation, too, has been borrowed from Evagrios. For him, the body is a tomb of the soul³⁹. Therefore separation of the soul from the body is inevitable and anchoretism with its acts of mortification is the death of the body⁴⁰. In this idea of the separation of the soul from the body in the process of purification to be carried out through the practice of the virtues, Evagrios was deeply influenced by the Platonistic thoughtworld.

Thus the «order» of the ascent through ascetic practices and of the road of the mystical spirituality of Philoxenos has been fashioned according to the models shaped by Evagrios.

i. Philoxenos' Own Basic Criteria

Nevertheless, the statement just made must be qualified. It must be added that Philoxenos, while using the terminology and ideas from the thoughtworld of Evagrios, did not do so without reservation. In truth, he also reveals his independent assessment and critical sense. While this is clearer in other areas of his theological speculation¹, in the area of spirituality and mystical philosophy he has been much more open to Evagrios. Yet his openness to the ideas of Evagrios appears in some way to be more limited in his letter written to a monk in Edessa named Patriq. This letter has been called by Hausherr a remarkable «mise au point» of Evagrian mysticism, «acknowledging the essential data of Origenistic

gnosis but stopping them from crossing the limits of orthodoxy»². It becomes apparent from the tenor of this letter that certain Origenistic, Evagrian and gnostic ideas had evoked disquieting phenomena in certain monastic communities. Facing such a situation, Philoxenos could not look upon this development idly and thus acted in order to warn about dangers in the system of Evagrian thought and to guide Syrian spirituality along traditional lines. That which appears in the letter sent to Patriq emerges far more strongly in the letter sent to Abraham and Orestes which unfolds an open attack against vain speculations in Evagrios.

With all the influence of Evagrian speculation so freely adopted and absorbed in his system of spirituality, Philoxenos goes his own way in one fundamental respect. His scheme of mystical spirituality integrates the christological doctrine in its specifically Monophysite dress into his system. These ideas about the work of Christ open up an entirely new and most essential dimension. According to it, spiritualization is intimately related to the whole economy of the incarnation so that the transformation of created beings comes about through the mystery of the incarnation. Only in this way can the renewal and gathering up the creation in the body of the Logos take place. The achievement of contemplation by an ascetic is not something which can take place in isolation but only through the purification and renewal of his nature through union with the incarnate Logos. Any understanding of this union with the incarnate Logos is only possible by a look at the very heart of his Monophysite christological vision. According to this, this specifically Monophysite grasp of the Logos that has become flesh is mysteriously present not only in his humanity itself³. That which gives new meaning to the new creation is a vision of God in the following way: «Complete in privation, rich in poverty, the Logos in the flesh, consubstantial (with God) in becoming, and God in humanity⁴»⁵. With such a vision, it becomes clear why Monophysitic doctrine had such a profound attraction among the Syrian monks and why during the trials

³⁷ *Mēmra*, Discourses, XII, p. 511; XII, p. 415.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XII, p. 511f.

³⁹ Τάφος δὲ ψυχῆς σῶμα, *Commentarius in Psalm XLVIII*, 12, ed. MIGNE, col. 1445.

⁴⁰ Σῶμα μὲν χωρίσαι ψυχῆς, μόνου ἐστὶ τοῦ συνδήσαντος· ψυχὴν δὲ ἀπὸ σώματος, καὶ τοῦ ἐπιεμένου τῆς ἀρετῆς. Τὴν γὰρ ἀναχωρησιν μελέτην θανάτου καὶ φυγὴν τοῦ σώματος οἱ Πατέρες ἡμῶν ὀνομάζουσιν, *Practicos*, p. 618.

¹ About cosmology, anthropology, christology and soteriology, see HARB, «L'attitude de Philoxène de Mabboug à l'égard de la spiritualité savante d'Évagre», p. 142ff.

² «Contemplation et sainteté, une remarquable mise au point par Philoxène», p. 175.

³ *Commentaire du Prologue Johannique*, éd. DE HALLEUX, p. 58.

⁴ Or: «human nature».

⁵ ܐܢ ܠܡܕܢܐ : ܠܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ : ܠܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ : ܠܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ : ܠܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ : ܠܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ, *ibid.*, p. 239.

and persecutions most of them did not hesitate to sacrifice their all and to suffer in order to defend their christological creed⁶. They were deeply convinced that such a tenet was a faith decision and gave them the real and ultimate meaning for their monastic calling. The new creation is made possible only through the deified humanity of the Logos which gives human nature new possibilities. This particular salvific economy, in fact, inaugurates spiritualization and deification of the new man⁷.

2. THE ROLE OF EVAGRIOS

a. Introduction

Evagrios¹ is an eminent figure in the history of spirituality. He left his position as a celebrated preacher in Constantinople in order to acquire real wisdom in the desert of Nitria². He found such wisdom in ascetic spirituality and proceeded to develop it into a system of his own. This system does not need to be discussed here because his spirituality and thoughtworld has been extensively treated³.

The translation of the works of Evagrios into Syriac⁴ was soon undertaken. The oldest manuscripts which have been preserved testify that the Syriac versions of his writings were already in existence at the beginning of the sixth century, which in turn suggests that the initial work of translation may reach back into the fifth century.

The reasons for such early and extended translation into Syriac were compelling. The appearance of Evagrios on the monastic scene was a real event. He was the first monk in the history of monasticism who engaged himself in such large scale literary activity. A prolific writer, the quantum of his literary works evoked amazement⁵. Even the range of his creativity

⁶ DE HALLEUX, «Monophysitismus und Spiritualität nach dem Johanneskommentar des Philoxenus», p. 362ff.

⁷ «Nicht aus einem blinden Fanatismus heraus geschah es also, dass zahlreiche monophysitische Mönche nicht zögerten, in der Verfolgung alles zu opfern um ein christologisches Bekenntnis zu schützen, das ihrer Meinung nach zuinnerst mit dem Sinn ihrer monastischen Berufung verknüpft war», *ibid.*, p. 366.

¹ Evagrios came from Pontus (346-399).

² ALTANER-STUIBER, *Patrologie*, p. 226ff.; QUAESTEN, *Patrology*, III, p. 31ff.

³ RAHNER, «Die geistliche Lehre des Evagrius», p. 21ff.; A. et C. GUILLAUMONT, *Traité Pratique ou Le Moine*, p. 38ff.; LOUTH, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition*, p. 199ff.

⁴ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 86ff.

⁵ SOCRATES, *Historia eccl.* IV, 23; GENNADIUS, *De viris illustribus* 11, ed. RICHARDSON.

was found to be something admirable: his writings began with ascetic treatises for the beginners, then covered every aspect of ascetic life or advanced spiritual life, and ended with such great works as the *Kephalaia gnostica*. His literary creation⁶, variegated as to subject matters, constituted a real milestone in the history of literary genre. Indeed, this very rich repository of material was at the disposal of the translators even in different forms⁷.

The value of Evagrios' literary creation was enhanced by its literary qualities. In all of his works, he appears as a born master of the word and refined expression. His dialectic arts and rhetorical skills were widely admired⁸. His contemporaries considered his talents to be exceptional. The remains of his writings provide their own eloquent testimony. Let it be added here that the very terse, concise form of expression which he cultivated as the basic element of his Centuries made Evagrios the master to be imitated. His literary legacy thus won attention for its style⁹.

Nevertheless, the real attraction of Evagrios' writings is to be found elsewhere. It is rooted deeply in the power of this written word; that which he wrote grew out of intense life experiences. Palladios tells us that Evagrios in the course of many years first purified his intellect of all the passions, and only after having attained the charisma of wisdom and the distinction of the spirits did he arrive at the stage of *apatheia*¹⁰. Not until then did he inaugurate his literary activities. In his writings he wanted to share the deepest things he had experienced and fought out. With respect to temptations, his vita in Coptic in particular brings out the fact that Evagrios was a person able to teach others how to overcome every aspect involved in a concrete way¹¹. That is to say, Evagrios was found by his readers to be a genuine teacher and trustworthy guide through all the complications in spiritual life. That was the way Evagrios became a teacher of spirituality and the master of philosophical or speculative mysticism. Given such dynamics, he was able to shape the whole of Christian spirituality in the east as well as the west, across all confessional boundaries.

⁶ GUILLAUMONT, «Evagrius», col. 1091ff.

⁷ Evagrios himself has formed his originally independent writings into greater works like the *Praktikos*, the *Gnostikos* and the *Kephalaia Gnostika* as a trilogy. GUILLAUMONT, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica»*, p. 381f.

⁸ PALLADIOS, *Historia Lausiaca*, ed. BUTLER, p. 117.

⁹ GUILLAUMONT, *Traité pratique*, p. 428ff.

¹⁰ *Historia Lausiaca*, p. 120.

¹¹ *De Historia Lausiaca*, éd. AMÉLINEAU, p. 113f.

Finally it should be added that the translations of the writings of Evagrius into Syriac was fortuitous in the extreme, inasmuch as his writings for the most part did not survive in the original Greek; the unknown translators have performed a very great service for us in preserving these materials in Syriac.

b. *The Oldest Collections*

In order to give some insight into the riches of these ascetic and mystical materials made available to the Syrians and into the range of his writings, it is necessary to introduce at least the oldest collections.

The earliest manuscript¹ with the works of Evagrius comes from the sixth century². Unfortunately, it has suffered so heavily that only eleven leaves of this very precious vellum codex written in a very impressive Estrangela script have survived. This collection begins³ with the treatise «On asceticism», followed by the one entitled «On the way of life of perfection». The conclusion of the Six Centuries follows. Of the remainder, only two treatises can be identified. One is «Answers from the holy scriptures against the demons that tempt us» and the second bears the title «On teachers and disciples».

A codex which has preserved a large collection of works of Evagrius comes from the sixth or seventh century⁴. The collection⁵ begins with his «Teaching (addressed) to the brother-solitaries in the desert», an extensive work divided into a hundred and a half sections. Of this work, fragmentary portions are extant in Greek⁶. This treatise is followed by a discourse addressed to Eulogios. Two treatises come next. One is: «On the eight evil thoughts» and the second is: «On the eight evil passions». Then there is a long row of shorter and longer treatises on a variety of subjects — on the spiritual world⁷, passions⁸, virtues⁹, perfection¹⁰, monastic life¹¹ and special ordinances for monks¹².

¹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,635, fol. 5-15.

² WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 449f.

³ The collection is headed by the life of Evagrius.

⁴ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,578, fol. 1-195, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 445ff.

⁵ Also this collection is headed by the Vita of Evagrius.

⁶ *Bibliotheca*, ed. GALLAND VII. See WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 445.

⁷ Nr. 28, 34, 35: On demons, nr. 29-30; On angels.

⁸ Nr. 13, 20: On passions; nr. 15, 16, 18, 22, 41, 42: Exhortations.

⁹ Nr. 6, 7, 27: On thoughts; nr. 14: On humility; nr. 21, 38: On prayer, and nr. 37: On silence.

¹⁰ Nr. 11: On the just and perfect; nr. 33: On perfection.

¹¹ Nr. 10: On monastic life; nr. 23, 24: On teachers and disciples.

¹² Nr. 9: Exhortations to brothers dwelling in a monastery.

Towards the end, the Six Centuries is introduced¹³. Letters from his hand were chosen to bring the collection to its completion. First the letter of Anatolios¹⁴, and then that to a virgin¹⁵ followed by a corpus of letters¹⁶ which, by the way, seems to have been the earliest collection of the writings of Evagrius. The letter to Melania brings this group to a conclusion¹⁷.

Regarding other collections of the writings of Evagrius, it suffices to say that they were filled out with other treatises drawn from the abundance of his writings; this allowed longer sections to be amplified by treatises different from those already mentioned, as can readily be seen in a parchment manuscript¹⁸ which contains a segment of such treatises¹⁹.

c. *The Florilegia*

The deep respect with which the writings of Evagrius were held is reflected in the collections of ascetic writings, whether of Byzantine, Egyptian or Syrian origin, which constituted reading material in the monasteries and cells of the solitaries. Insight into some of these sources can help us to understand the contribution made by Evagrius.

The earliest such document appears in a manuscript¹ written in the year 533/4². This corpus is headed by the Sixth Centuries³ followed by a treatise «On these (things) that happen in dreams»⁴. Then comes the Asceticon dedicated to Anatolios, a work which includes a «Discourse on the eight evil thoughts» and then «Answers from the holy scriptures to the demons that tempt us». This cycle of writings is concluded by the vita of Evagrius ascribed to Basilios. The cycle which follows includes

¹³ Included as nr. 31.

¹⁴ Nr. 40: Regarding the dress of the solitaries in Egypt.

¹⁵ Included as nr. 43.

¹⁶ Inserted as nr. 44; the corpus comprises 61 letters; excerpts, mostly small, of 7 letters in Greek have been found in the florilegia by C. GUILLAUMONT, *Traité Pratique*, p. 245, 257.

¹⁷ Nr. 45; cf. FRANKENBERG, *Evagrius Ponticus*; VITESTAM, *Seconde partie du traité*.

¹⁸ Ms. Paris Syr. 378 is a codex which comes from the 8th or 9th cent.

¹⁹ «On the love of money», «On anger», «On grief», «On depression», «On vain glory», and «On pride», fol. 8aff.

¹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12,175, fol. 81a-145a.

² WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 633ff.

³ See page 143.

⁴ *Bibliotheca*, ed. GALLAND VII, p. 563.

treatises on thoughts⁵, admonitions⁶, and exhortations⁷. Here the treatise «Against the eight evil thoughts» has been chosen to close this collection.

In this composite volume, selections of the writings of Evagrius have been combined with selections from other ascetic authors, mainly from Egypt⁸.

Just as it was necessary to introduce the oldest sources, so is it advisable to single those writings which were at once the most frequently used and the most popular on the reading lists of the ascetics. Such a survey would shed light upon the role played by the writings of Evagrius.

«A Discourse on perfection»⁹ was written to Eulogios. In the transmission of Greek manuscripts it has been ascribed to Nilos¹⁰. It is attested, too, by Nicephoros Kallistos who speaks of it with praise¹¹. In some of the manuscript it bears a different title¹².

Another very popular treatise bears the title: «On the eight evil passions»¹³ which has been ascribed in the Greek tradition to Nilos¹⁴. Another treatise on the same subject bearing the title: «On the passions»¹⁵ has also enjoyed wide popularity.

«Against the eight evil thoughts»¹⁶ comprises eight discourses composed of scriptural material. Gennadius reports that he had translated this work into Latin¹⁷. The version which he prepared in Latin has not survived.

«Hortatory words to the brothers who are living together in a monastery»¹⁸.

«On monasticism and the tranquility in it»¹⁹, of which some remnants

⁵ «On thoughts of every kind», «On the distinction of thoughts», and «On the judgement of thoughts».

⁶ «Admonitions to one who walks with God».

⁷ «Exhortation to the intellect», «A letter of exhortation», «A treatise of exhortation».

⁸ Marcos the Monk, Palladios, Hieronymus, Macarios the Great, Ammonios and Basilios.

⁹ Πρὸς Εὐλόγιον.

¹⁰ *Nili abbatis tractatus*, ed. SUARESIUS, p. 408ff.; ed. MIGNE, col. 1093ff.

¹¹ *Historia eccl.*, XIV, 54.

¹² «A discourse of teaching to Eulogios».

¹³ Περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας.

¹⁴ *Nili opera*, ed. SUARESIUS, p. 456; ed. MIGNE, col. 1145f.

¹⁵ Πάθη.

¹⁶ Ἀντιρρητικός, ed. MIGNE, col. 1271ff.

¹⁷ «Adversus octo principalium vitiorum suggestiones ... octo ex sanctorum tantum scripturarum testimoniis opposuit libros», GENNADIUS, *De viris illustribus* 11.

¹⁸ Στιχηρά, *Bibliotheca*, ed. GALLAND VII, p. 578; ed. MIGNE, col. 1277.

¹⁹ Τῶν κατὰ μοναχῶν τὰ αἰτία καὶ ἡ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τούτων παράθεσις.

have survived in its original²⁰. In some manuscripts the treatise appears under a different title²¹.

«Concerning teacher and disciple»²² in the Greek tradition has been ascribed to Nilos²³. In some manuscripts it bears the title: «A treatise to the *rabbānē* and disciples». This work was written for abbots, masters of the novices and novices — that accounts in large part for the attraction of readers.

«Teaching (addressed) to the brothers-solitaries in the desert» is one of the main works, namely, his *Praktikos*²⁴ in 151 sections. Its subtitles include: «On the eight evil thoughts», «On the passions», and «Hortatory precepts».

We are fortunate that this quantum of material has been enriched. Previously, unknown witnesses which our research has brought to light in the Syrian Orient has supplemented this corpus of ascetic florilegia. These manuscripts have even preserved treatises which do not appear in the collections of known works of Evagrius²⁵.

d. The Six Centuries

Regarding Evagrius' Six Centuries¹ in Syriac, interesting phenomena have come to light. These hang together with the discovery made by Guillaumont. He found a second version of this work² in addition to the one already known, and this work arouses special interest in view of the fact that its content, presenting dogmatic as well as ascetic materials, differs from other writings of his.

Only a single manuscript³ has preserved a version which represents an

²⁰ *Bibliotheca*, ed. GALLAND VII, p. 566; ed. MIGNE, col. 1252ff.

²¹ «A letter of admonition».

²² Περὶ διδασκάλων καὶ μαθητῶν.

²³ «Un opuscule inédit attribué à Nil», éd. VAN DEN VEN, p. 73ff.

²⁴ Μοναχὸς ἢ περὶ πρακτικῆς, *Bibliotheca*, ed. GALLAND VII, p. 554ff., ed. MIGNE, col. 1222, 1271.

²⁵ Ms. Atšaneh 125; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 56 and 181. Ms. Aleppo Orth. 102. Ms. Behnām 8/6; Ms. Mār Mattai 27; Ms. Mosul Chald. 92, p. 1-109 is now Ms. Baghdad Patr. 708. Ms. Anhel has no signature, consists of 37 *kūrrāsē* written in 1519 A. Gr. and is bound in brown leather; Ms. Mardin Orth. 157, 420, 422 and 438; Ms. Midyat Melki has no signature; its measurement are 17,5 × 25cm., bound in red cloth.

¹ Γνωστικά προβλήματα.

² *Les six centuries des «Kephalaiā Gnostica»*, éd. GUILLAUMONT.

³ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,167, fol. 18a-56a, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 676ff.

accurate translation of the work — as over against a group of manuscripts containing the common version. Indeed, both versions differ from each other⁴. The real significance of this version becomes clear when it is noted that it not only renders exactly the Greek original insofar as that is extant in fragments but also agrees with certain anti-Origenist anathemas adopted by the council held in the year 553⁵. The new recension represents an accurate translation of the Six Centuries of Evagrius.

The discovery of this Syriac version has opened up new perspectives for understanding the history of the influence of Evagrius upon the Greeks as well as upon the Syrians; it also throws light upon the complicated history of this work among the Syrians. It has removed the veil from a real puzzle: whereas among the Greek Evagrius, as a disciple of Origen, had fallen under condemnation, among the Syrian whose attitude towards Origen was also negative, Evagrius enjoyed an immense reputation. This enigma could now be resolved. The version of the Six Centuries which came into the hands of the Syrians was not an exact translation but an adjusted text, one which had been made dogmatically palatable to the Syrians by removing the Origenism of Evagrius. The resultant product actually was therefore not a translation of the work but a modified version of the original. Only in this form did the Six Centuries become known to the Syrians. This is demonstrated by the fact that whenever the text of the Six Centuries has been quoted by the Syrians, namely by Philoxenos, Išhāq of Ninive, Dadišō' of Bēt Qaṭrayē, 'Abdišō' and Joseph Ḥazzāyā, Nestorian mystics of the seventh and eight centuries, and other sources⁶, this common version was used. It was also the same recension which served as the base for the commentaries on this work by Bābai in the seventh century and Dionysios bar Šalībī in the twelfth century⁷. All these sources show no evidence of the original version. The Syrians were acquainted only with the purged, adjusted edition of Evagrius. Thus the version of Evagrius which was made available to the Syrians for the first time was heavily doctored in such

⁴ Of 540 sentences only 123 are identical, and in 417 sentences these two versions display greater or smaller deviations; in 207 sentences the differences affect more or less the meaning and 54 are entirely different; GUILLAUMONT, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica»*, p. 200.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 200ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227ff.

⁷ An unknown witness emerges in Ms. Istanbul Maryam Ana, p. 392-648. This manuscript has no signature; it was written in the month of Šebāt 2008 A. GR., i.e. in the year 1697 A. D.; the codex is bound in red leather and its measurements are 22,5 × 15,5cm.

areas as christology, eschatology and cosmology⁸. In other words, the Syrians were not introduced to the real Evagrius when they received the translation of his Six Centuries⁹.

It is this adjusted version that was initially put into circulation. That is true not only among the Syrians but also among the Armenians; it is the adjusted version which was translated into Armenian, as a very ancient version attests¹⁰.

In view of the circumstances described, the question of the date of the earliest translation in particular is most intriguing. The oldest manuscript which presents this text¹¹ testifies, according to its colophon — though it has suffered — that it was written in the year 533/4¹². This points to an even earlier date; it is safe to conclude that the first decades of the sixth century come into account. However, this version may be older still. Support for this comes from the Armenian version which was made not from the Greek original¹³ but from the first Syriac version¹⁴. Thus the adjusted version must be prior to the Armenian version which, according to all indications, was made in the fifth century¹⁵.

The question of the authorship of this earliest translation is equally interesting. The search for a possible author to date has yielded no conclusion result. Ja'qōb of Serūg¹⁶ cannot come into account since this reference in question appears in a tradition which is obtruse¹⁷. The candidature of Philoxenos of Mabbūg has also been raised¹⁸. Indeed, the theory that the author was none other than Philoxenos has been lauded¹⁹. But as a priori it involves insurmountable difficulties. Philoxenos' knowledge of Greek alone constitutes a serious obstacle²⁰.

⁸ GUILLAUMONT, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica»*, p. 231ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 215ff.

¹⁰ Ed. SARGHISIAN.

¹¹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12,175.

¹² WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 637.

¹³ This is against the assumption taken by the editor of the Armenian text.

¹⁴ So HAUSHERR.

¹⁵ The important fact is that the traces of the influence of Evagrius appear in the authors who belong to the so-called «Golden Age», as particularly Johannes Mandakuni and Ezrik of Kolb, SARGHISIAN.

¹⁶ BAR 'EBRAYA, *Chronicon eccl.*, ed. ABBELOOS-LAMY I, p. 191.

¹⁷ He is reported to have translated the work at the request of Gīwargī, the bishop of the Arabs, «who was his disciple». Gīwargī could not have been his disciple since he lived several generations later. About him see page 000.

¹⁸ GUILLAUMONT, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica»*, p. 202ff.

¹⁹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12,175.

²⁰ GUILLAUMONT, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica»*, p. 202ff.

though not everyone would regard this as sufficient for such far-reaching postulations⁴. It is reported that, during his stay in Edessa, Bar Šūdaylē had already begun to disseminate his heretical opinions. The issue is not fully clear but it seems that he was compelled to leave Edessa for this reason and that he went to Palestine. It is probable that this took place between the years 509 and 512. However, he stayed in touch with the disciples he had left behind at the Mesopotamian metropolis and the monastic communities there.

A chronological clue which comes from Philoxenos is very welcome. Philoxenos wrote a letter to two presbyters living in Edessa, namely to Abraham and to Orestes regarding Bar Šūdaylē. It was written for the purpose of warning them about his views which appeared to be very extravagant. This letter must have been written before the year 518⁵ so that we may reckon with the time between 512 and 515. In this letter Philoxenos refers to Bar Šūdaylē as the one «who departed from among us some time since, and now resides in the country of Jerusalem»⁶. In this way are we given at least some orientation about the happenings in the early life of Bar Šūdaylē.

His departure from Edessa has been embellished with legendary traditions⁷; whether they have any historical kernel is very difficult to establish. His destination is plausible enough since his new abode in the vicinity of Jerusalem was related to the presence of Origenistic monks about which we fortunately have some information. A kinship with these monks must have been an important factor in determining his new residence.

We are informed about the activities of the Origenistic monks to the effect that in the year 514 the first incident of conflict caused by these monks took place in the New Laura⁸. We also learn that such incidents and provocations deeply troubled the monasteries in Palestine and that they lasted until the official condemnation of Origenism⁹. The atmos-

⁴ It has been suggested by Guillaumont that this person was Johannes of Apamea.

⁵ In the year 518 Philoxenos was expelled from his episcopal seat.

⁶ *Letter of Mar Xenaias*, ed. FROTHINGHAM, p. 28₄₋₅.

⁷ It is reported that Bar Šūdaylē had gone to Philoxenos in order to seduce him with his views about the final punishment as well as recompensation which do not last longer than a period of time. Philoxenos is reported to have told him that this is the view for which Origen was condemned. Then «he took his books during the night and fled to Palestine», MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique* II, p. 249f.

⁸ CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. SCHWARTZ, p. 124f.

⁹ On the ecumenical council held in the year 553.

phere created by such ascetic activists provided a spiritual home for the monk from Edessa.

The question whether his stay in Palestine turned out to be temporary or not, must remain open even though there is a record which claims to have the answer. Whether a note by Bar ʿEbrāyā which says that Bar Šūdaylē lived in Edessa at the time Sargīs was patriarch of Antioch¹⁰, that means from 541-543, deserves our trust cannot be decided. If Bar ʿEbrāyā is correct, then Bar Šūdaylē returned to his hometown, Edessa.

b. *Bar Sūdaylē's Activities*

In Bar Šūdaylē we meet an original personality. Despite disparaging and even bitter comments by Philoxenos, he is presented on the pages of this letter as a learned man, calling him «Stephanos the learned man»¹, versed in the study of the scriptures and energetic in the propaganda of disseminating his views. He is also a prolific author. Philoxenos also cannot suppress the impression that Bar Šūdaylē must have exercised considerable personal charm in attracting numerous and active disciples. Bar Šūdaylē must have been a person who claimed an extraordinary authority for himself as a result of his pneumatic experiences, keeping alive traditions of the charismatics in the monastic movement. This can be deduced from the emotional words of Philoxenos. In connection with his comments on certain psalms composed by Bar Šūdaylē, Philoxenos states: «In which he also glorifies himself and ascribes to himself revelations and visions, and says that to him alone is it given to understand the scriptures correctly»².

From the same source written by Philoxenos we learn something about the production of literary works by Bar Šüdaylê. Philoxenos speaks of his «letters and books». Repeatedly he refers to the variety of his literary activity consisting of letters, books and treatises. His commentary on certain psalms³ which Philoxenos had seen and read has been already mentioned. But of all the manifold writings mentioned by Philoxenos, nothing has survived.

¹⁰ *Chronicon eccl.*, ed. ABBELOOS-LAMY I, col. 221.

¹ *Ḳiṣṣā*, *Letter of Mār Xenaias*, ed. FROTHINGHAM, p. 28.

² ארבעה ימים וזמן רב לא נמצא שום דבר מזה, *ibid.*, p. 46₃₋₆.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 46₂₋₃.

The strong mystical tone is evident already in the title itself. Even the name of the person referred to is mystical, since it is the name of the figure which appears in the writings of Pseudo-Dionysios as the master of Dionysios⁸. Ascribing the book to Hierotheos is pure fiction. There are reasons for thinking that this was not done by Bar Šūdaylē himself but that it belongs to the transmission of his work which had its own particular history. The intrinsic evidence of the work in the present form shows that it is not of one cast. Sutures in the body of the work are conspicuous⁹. An attractive solution rests on the assumption that a disciple of Bar Šūdaylē referred the title to Hierotheos, giving it such a protector¹⁰ in order to save the work of his master.

The Book of Hierotheos represents a speculative theological epic conjuring up mystical scenes along the way through the celestial spheres. The parts of the work have been so structured that between the first book on cosmology and the fifth on eschatology, there are the books which are devoted to the ascension of the intellect towards perfection. This is the very heart of this mystical work displaying a series of mysteries.

In the movement back towards the Creator, the ascetics must purify their souls and bodies so that they will be in no danger of falling back. In this spiritual ascent, the body is as if dead and the soul is absorbed into the mind. The intellect is repeatedly assailed by the demonic forces whose abode is in the regions between the heaven and the earth. After having reached the region beyond the firmament, the intellect is guided onward by the angels¹¹. The mind at this stage is like that of a newborn child having passed from darkness into light. New mysteries developed from sacramental imagery are envisaged.

Although Bar Šūdaylē speaks of baptism as a necessity for salvation, in reality Bar Šūdaylē thinks that this is no more than a symbol of something far more essential: beyond the baptism of water there is a second baptism. There is the baptism which the intellect receives beyond the heavens: a baptism with spirit and fire and only this is able to realize union with the ultimate Being.

In the same way does a mystical eucharist find its place here. The mind is nourished by the mystical bread¹² which instigates the desire to

⁸ MIGNE, col. 648f., 681ff., and 713.

⁹ The preface and the titles have been added later, MARSH, p. 234, 245.

¹⁰ GUILLAUMONT, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica»*, p. 329.

¹¹ III, 4-5, ed. MARSH, p. 68f.

¹² *ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ*.

progress towards the ultimate Being, instilling also forces of perfection and dispensing secrets.

On this road of ascent, Bar Šūdaylē envisages also another mystical phenomenon, the place of the cross¹³ signifying the endurance of passion and the suffering of the crucifixion in imitation of Christ himself. Without these sufferings the mind cannot be perfected. Thus the intellect undergoes mystical crucifixion which has the aim of purification. This has to do with the mystical death of the intellect¹⁴. After three days in the tomb, the mystical resurrection takes place¹⁵. Now purified, the intellect is ready for complete unification. Again, it should be noted that the idea of identifying the intellect of Christ with «the grand intellect»¹⁶ rests completely on Evagrian christology.

As analysis shows, Bar Šūdaylē has created a conglomeration of speculations for his system of spirituality and mysticism. The component parts come from different sources. Speculations from the writings of Pseudo-Dionysios¹⁷ which works were available¹⁸ in Syriac¹⁹ have been amply employed. The doctrines of Origen in an extreme form have been adopted. The mysticism of Evagrius and his eschatology with its pantheistic orientation²⁰ has exercised a very deep impact upon Bar Šūdaylē²¹. The presentation of the ascent of the intellect obviously has borrowed elements from other esoteric sources since the gnostic themes concerning «the journey of the soul» through the celestial spheres has

¹³ *ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65f.

¹⁶ III, 3, *ibid.*, p. 64ff.

¹⁷ This is contrary to the views expressed by Frothingham who was convinced that the Book of Hierotheos was the very source for the doctrines in the writings of Ps - Dionysios which, of course, would have been enormously important historically since «the whole of scholastic theology and of medieval mysticism is founded on the doctrine», p. 6. Without critique this view was taken over by MERX, *Idee und Grundlinien einer allgemeinen Geschichte der Mystik*.

¹⁸ Be it noted in this connection that the first Syriac translation of the writings Ps - Dionysios was made before the year 536. Sargis of Rešainā makes a very interesting comment full of suggestiveness, that in this translation he received assistance from a certain Stephanos. SHERWOOD, «*Traité de Serge de Rešayna*», p. 152.

¹⁹ The known sources have been enriched by unknown documents. Consistent searching has been able to ferret out new and precious records. Ms. Mosul St. Mary I is a very ancient parchment codex; Ms. Damascus Patr. 12/23 comes from the 7th or 8th cent.; Ms. Mosul Orth., written in the 19th cent., has no signature; Ms. Mardin Orth. 1003 is a copy by a more recent hand.

²⁰ GUILLAUMONT, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica»*, p. 318ff.

²¹ This impact appears particularly strong in his cosmology.

incarnation, essential for his ascetic philosophy³, are completely absent. Thus the very foundation which characterizes Philoxenos' spirituality is completely lacking here. The impression left with us is this, that this document must come from a time not so acutely troubled as the time in which Philoxenos lived, fought and suffered.

Other considerations add their part to this negative conclusion. The spiritual milieu of this document exhibits a different orientation. There is too much of a predilection for visions, revelations and miraculous phenomena for it to come from the pen of Philoxenos. In these matters his own stand displays a stark sobriety.

Additional observations can be made on the basis of the intrinsic evidence. They concern the imagery and thoughtworld which are different from that of Philoxenos. In the authentic writings of Philoxenos, the Exodus episode is typologically understood in such a way that the exodus from Egypt, the crossing through the Red Sea and the wanderings in the desert respectively mean slavery in the world, troubles, passions, and labors, and freedom after withdrawal from the world⁴. The same episode in this source uses an altogether different typology. Here the Exodus from Egypt represents a bodily stage, namely, the coenobitic life. Then the imagery jumps to the episode of the crossing of the Jordan. This represents the psychic stage, that is, the solitary life. Then our source jumps to the episode of the entry into Jerusalem which represents the spiritual stage. Not only is this imagery different, it is also a not well thought-out illustration of an organic process, especially since that which is illustrated has to do with entirely different events. One cannot expect anything like this from a mind as keen as that of Philoxenos.

A feature in the intrinsic evidence must also be brought out. The longer recension of this treatise includes the comment that the author had written a commentary⁵ on the Centuries⁶ of Evagrius⁷ but there is no evidence that Philoxenos wrote such a commentary on Evagrius. His

³ *Discourses*, ed. BUDGE, p. 7-9; *Commentaire du Prologue johannique* I, 1-17, éd. DE HALLEUX.

⁴ *Discourses*, ed. BUDGE, p. 276f.; 284f.

⁵ GUILLAUMONT, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica»*, p. 211ff.

⁶ See page 149f.

⁷ The Syriac term ܟܬܒܐ is ambiguous since *pūšāqā* can mean translation as well as interpretation. However, the author helps us out by an additional comment clarifying the situation namely that the purpose of this work was to elucidate Evagrius. Thus what is meant here is a commentary.

biography⁸ in various forms⁹ including unknown sources which come from the Syrian Orient which provide information about his literary creativity¹⁰ show no knowledge of any such commentary.

On the basis of these observations it must be concluded that this source stems from some unknown author and was ascribed in some way or other later on to the authentic writings of Philoxenos.

c. *The Thoughtworld of the Document*

This document which flows from tradition other than that of Philoxenos undertakes to deal with the phenomenon of monastic life according to the forms developed for it in the progression towards higher goals. This marching towards perfection is described by an abstract term *mešūhtā*¹. Since the subject matter is ascetic life progressing on the road towards perfection, the term «degree» would not be the best way to translate the Syrian word. «Stage» would be much more fitting to describe such an organically progressive movement in the realm of spirituality. Thus this source speaks of the monastic life in the corporeal stage, the psychic stage and the pneumatic stage. Thus the treatise therefore has been divided into three chapters according to these three stages.

The stages are presented in such a way that in the first stage the struggle is against the external difficulties and hardships, in the second stage against thoughts and temptations by demons in order to attain purification of the thought² and in the third stage, external and internal faults having been overcome, the arduous road culminating in the arrival at integrity³ which allows the reception of divine gifts and the enjoyment of revelations of God's mysteries. Thus the road towards the ultimate goal in spiritual life is marked by purification, illumination and per-

⁸ See page 123.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Cf. VÖÖBUS, «*La biographie de Philoxène*», p. 111ff.

¹ ܡܝܫܘܚܬܐ.

² *A Letter of Philoxenos*, ed. OLINDER, p. 6ff.

³ Among complex notions is the term ܡܫܘܚܬܐ, «purity», which signifies the first purification of the passions. The author distinguishes this notion from ܡܫܘܚܬܐ, designating the supreme purification. The term means «serenity», «transparency» and «sincerity». HAUSHERR, translates the term by «integrity», «Jean le Solitaire, Dialogue sur l'âme», p. 22. Mingana prefers «Serenity» and Rücker «Lauterkeit».

fection. Be it noted in this connection that this scheme is the same as the one which underlies the writings of Pseudo-Dionysios. However, it must be added here that these stages are not understood as completely isolated phenomena, for just as Jōhannān the Solitary speaks of interrelation and cooperation between body, soul and spirit, so does this document. Creative elements at the higher stages are in a certain way already operative in the lower ones⁴. Such elements, like spores, are understood to be necessary prerequisites for the transition into the higher stages. Further, the imagery of the author is marked by its closeness to the ideas of Evagrius, a figure for whom the author shows great admiration.

The treatise presents a perfect «directorium spirituale». To this end, the author uses the experiences and ascetic wisdom of monastic heroes — but it is very remarkable that all of those who mentioned by name are Egyptian authorities⁵.

The description of the monastic community which belongs to the first stage also unfolds something new. Here the author introduces the institution of spiritual guides in the monasteries — a function about which nothing has been said in other sources. These spiritual guides are introduced as those «who are credited with their service and mental guidance»⁶. They keep their eye on the spiritual development and growth of the beginners. Their importance in the training of the novices is strongly emphasized. Besides advising and counseling them in matters of spiritual growth and advancement, they also have the power to impose the observance of more fasts, abstinence and vigils. All this comes out in the injunctions given them: «But you, o my leading brothers, make them a rule⁷ for their life with regard to course and measure, that they may not do work of supererogation and so that the fervor of their love weakens»⁸. Their service was held to be critical in molding the ascetic movement⁹, and beginners are urged to follow their instructions obe-

⁴ Evidently first the impulses for the withdrawal from the world «have been sown in us in the nature of our first creation».

⁵ Quoted are the following persons: Ammonios, John the Little, Anthony, Arsenios, Evagrius and also the book of Paradise has been quoted.

⁶ നമ്മുടെ നാവികനായ നാവികൻ നമുക്ക് ഇത് കേൾക്കുക അല്ലെങ്കിൽ
അതാണ്, *A Letter of Philoxenos*, p. 7₁₄₋₁₇.

⁷ كنو، «canons», GRAFFIN, «Lettre à un supérieur», p. 347.

⁸ *A Letter of Philoxenos*, p. 12.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

diently: «But you o, our brother, when you sit in the cell, put every thought that you have either from the right side or from the left, before your leader, and whatever he tells you, do it diligently, without turning aside from it»¹⁰.

Given such an arrangement, the transition from life in the monastery to life in a cell is depends upon the judgement of the spiritual guides: «When the pious monk has accomplished the laborious work in the monastery in humility and obedience and in steadfastness against all the abuse that has been directed by others against him, and accomplished the inner order duly, he gets permission from his spiritual fathers to go out to a cell»¹¹. The importance of this transition in monastic life is brought into focus when attention is drawn to their typology in this connection; it is drawn from the biblical account of the promised land and Joshua's connection with it.

This transition opens up the next stage on the road in the ascetic pursuit. The monk is now subjected to the «rules of the cell»¹². These new injunctions require strict seclusion and specify ascetic¹³ and devotional obligations¹⁴. Additional injunctions deal with ways of reaching a more rigorous discipline in fasting, with the vigils of the night, and with uninterrupted scriptural reading. A large portion of the source is devoted to the internal development and growth of the solitary. Psychological phenomena in particular are given special attention. These involve an anatomy of internal struggles and temptations. In this connection emphasis is placed on the demonological, which is then allegorically developed. It would appear that such imagery was needed in order to

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[illegible]

¹² Kāhloṛ Kāṇḍo, *ibid.*, p. 38.

¹³ «For it is incumbent on him who has recently gone out to the cell, to observe the following: perpetual silence, so that there will be no communication for him with anybody, isolation from family and relations, and not appearing outside the door of his cell in the day-time, except on account of the wants of nature, or illness about which no law is established». *ibid.*, p. 17.

[illegible]

deal with the meaning of the inner struggles and vexations. A good deal of space is devoted to descriptions of the assaults of the demons. Such very elaborate accounts must have found serious reception in the circles of the solitaries inasmuch as the functions of the demons were specified even to detail the effect of which was a diatribe on advanced demonology¹⁵.

In order to meet the continuous attacks of these evil forces, this source turns to a discussion of the armour available to solitaries against all of these assaults of the demonic forces. This armory consists of spiritual exercises, namely, of a rhythmical flow in prayer practices, of meditation, of reading of the scriptures and of vigils¹⁶, all supported and strengthened by ascetic practices. All of these are activities which fill out the life of a solitary. For endurance in this life, other sources of strength are available. Here the role of the «guardian angel» must be mentioned in the first place, a power sustaining, supporting and strengthening the solitary during his temptations, struggles and vexations. When the visitation of grace takes place it has an inspiring effect which enlivens the soul. Such a visitation rekindles the spirit so that the performance of all the ascetic and devotional duties takes on an entirely new character. These effects are described in the following way: «His heart burns, as with fire, with the love of the quiet of the cell, and of continual kneeling, and with love of the recital of the psalms without interruption and continual reading»¹⁷.

The spirituality of this source stands out for its esoteric character. The author has a strong predilection for mystical phenomena. Visions, revelations and participation in the divine mysteries constitute an integral part of life in the stage of perfection. In this respect the source allows us some very instructive insights: «And now and then something entices your mind and lifts it up to the region of unutterable light, and

¹⁵ Demonic forces are classified in the following way: the demon of depression, of laziness, the demon of migration which entices the solitary to wander from cell to cell and from monastery to monastery and from mountain to mountain, the demon of gluttony, of fornication, of vain glory and of fear.

¹⁶ «The hermit who watches from evening to dawn in vigilance of the mind is like the angels of the light, who continually celebrate the threefold holy secret of the world to come», *ibid.*, p. 20. Cf. GELINEAU, «Données liturgiques contenues dans les sept madroshe De la nuit», p. 107ff.

¹⁷ «...», *A Letter*, ed. OLINDER, p. 48₁₋₇.

you perceive nothing in it but spiritual substances; and the whole of this creation is hidden from your eyes, and you do not know whether you are in the body or outside of the body, because the bodily sense is abolished in you, and in this arena, you only hear the sound of spiritual whispers»¹⁸.

d. *Insights into the Daily Routine*

Finally another important aspect in the physiognomy of this source has been awaiting introduction. This has to do with the extraordinary contribution this document can make. This source is particularly precious because it has preserved something which no other source in this genre has exhibited. Here, very rare opportunity is presented us, one allowing us to gain a closer insight into the daily activities of the solitary in his cell. That which is unfolded here in this respect is, indeed, nothing less than a timetable. Since this record is unique, the most important sections deserve to be introduced in extenso.

«When day is breaking, he washes his hands and makes genuflexions before the cross, until his thoughts have been gathered from their wanderings»¹. These preliminary acts are followed by a prayer fixed in form. This is what the text says: «And when you have gathered your thoughts by means of words of prayer such as these, salute the cross and take the gospel in your hands and put it upon your eyes and your heart and go and stand on your feet before the cross, without sitting on the ground and lay on a cushion every book, in which you read, and fall down before it up to ten times, lifting up your thanks unto him»². After the solitary has read the gospel, he then is advised to repeat the process in the Pauline letters and in the book of Acts until the third hour comes.

«And when the third hour comes, go and stand before the cross and gather your thoughts from the contents of what you have read, and kneel down and implore our Lord amid tears and pain, to give you the key of

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹ «...», *ibid.*, p. 20₁₃₋₁₇.

² «...», *ibid.*, p. 21₅₋₁₈.

V. MONASTICISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE LEGISLATIVE SOURCES

1. THE RULES OF PHILOXENOS

a. *The Sources*

There is another reason to return to Philoxenos whose other contributions are well-known. The reason in this instance is his contribution to the genre of rules¹.

With regard to formal appearance and structure, this cycle of regulations leaves us with the impression that they are rules; each of them begins with the same stereotyped formula: «A monk who ...» Indeed, in some manuscripts, they have been numbered in the same way as in the case of canons².

For the most part, these regulations deal with principles of the monastic life. The admonitions are often cast in the form of biblical injunctions; however, concrete issues are in mind. These rules in particular gain in significance in view of the stimulus Philoxenos gave to monasticism, engaging it deeply in the doctrinal battles in which the life of his church, and its very survival, was at stake³.

As some manuscripts state, this cycle rests on a letter of Philoxenos sent to the monks at Amid⁴. The text is not more specific. This remark could be explained by saying that these rules were compiled by others in a monastery. It is readily understandable that, in the monasteries, canons were extracted from the letters of Philoxenos. Yet it is equally possible that Philoxenos himself may have done this, or provided the initial stimuli for having it done. Everything that is known of his endeavors in connection with the monastic movement⁵, in the interest of strength-

ening discipline and particularly of instilling the spirit of commitment to the Monophysite cause then in danger, makes it all the more comprehensible that his endeavors in this respect might also have included the issuance of such rules of life, which would be a quintessence of his instructions, to the monastic communities⁶. Our sources do not assist us in deciding this question. However, a more probable thesis would hold that someone else compiled these rules since — given what we know about Philoxenos — we would expect more of these regulations if they had come directly from his pen.

There is quite a row of codices which have preserved this cycle of rules⁷, so that the transmission of the text is more than satisfactory⁸, constituting the basis for a critical edition of the text⁹.

The oldest text appears in two manuscripts, Ms. Paris Syr. 62¹⁰ of the ninth century¹¹ and in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,193¹² of the year 874 A.D.¹³ Two other manuscripts are of equal age¹⁴. Other witnesses are much younger¹⁵.

The number of witnesses has been increasing as manuscripts in the Syrian Orient¹⁶ have been unearthed. Among these sources a different recension which displays changes, corrections, transpositions and even some supplements takes from another cycle of canons¹⁷, has emerged.

important, containing collections of them, are the following: Ms. Mardin Orth. 848, Ms. Mosul Orth. 209, and Ms. Anhel Mār Qyriaqōs, a manuscript in quart size, which has no signature.

⁶ By the way, there are rules for the priests, too, which rest on his homily on faith. Ms. Mus. Borg. Syr. 10, fol. 104b-106a.

⁷ The earliest sources are: Ms. Paris Syr. 62, fol. 218b of the 9th cent., ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue*, p. 22ff. and Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17, 193, fol. 69b-70a, written in the year 874 A.D., WRIGHT, *Catalogue* I, p. 497. About other manuscripts see VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1B, p. 316.

⁸ *Ibid.*,

⁹ *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 53f.

¹⁰ Fol. 218b.

¹¹ ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue*, p. 29.

¹² Fol. 69b-70a.

¹³ WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 989.

¹⁴ Ms. Vatican Syr. 126, fol. 392a-392b of the year 1223 A.D., ASSEMANI, *Catalogus* II, p. 177, and Ms. Cambridge Add. 2023, fol. 237b-238a of the 13th cent., WRIGHT-COOK, *Catalogue* II, p. 600.

¹⁵ Ms. Borgia Syr. 148, fol. 183a-183b was written in the year 1576 A.D., and Ms. Harvard Har. 36, fol. 3b-4a, written in the year 1796-7 A.D., GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 57.

¹⁶ Mardin Orth. 157, fol. 103b-104a, of the 16th cent., VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*. Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 302, fol. 39b is of the year 1699 A.D., Ms. Mosul Orth. 209, fol. 42b, written in the year 1911: Ms. Mosul Orth. 187, fol. 67b-68a, copied in the year 1921 A.D.

¹⁷ Ms. Mardin Orth. 322, fol. 2b; the manuscript is of the year 1473/4, VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*, but this folio page has been added later to the codex written by a recent hand.

¹ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1b, p. 316ff.

² Ms. Paris Syr. 62; Ms. Cambr. Add. 2023 and Ms. Šarfeh Patr. Syr. 302.

³ VÖÖBUS, «Die Rolle der Regeln im syrischen Mönchtum», p. 338f.

⁴ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,193, fol. 69b; Ms. Vatican Syr. 126, fol. 392a and Ms. Cambridge Add. 2023, fol. 237b.

⁵ About a wide correspondence of Philoxenos with the monastic communities and individual monks see BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 142. He did not only keep in contact with the monasteries in his own diocese but also with those beyond the boundaries of his bishopric. Among the new sources which contain his letters, the most

that the very foundation and guarantee of the true faith is assured by the bearers of the sacred tradition, namely Severos and 'Aksenāyā. They are the ultimate authorities in matters of Monophysite doctrine²⁹.

b. The Canons

(1) Those who have taken upon themselves to live the monastic life, it is evident that they have made¹ the promise of the way of life of the angels to live for the Messiah.

(2) For this, as if in another world, they have moved from towns and villages to lonely monasteries.

(3) According to their promise, then, it is fitting always to live in the truth and in the life elevated above marriage. For, when the carnal Israel, when it was prepared to go out to meet God on the Mount of Sinai, they received an order through Moses² that they should be sanctified and to wash their garments, and not to approach wives, how much more it is fitting for this monastic garment to be always in holiness.

(4) Because of this they do not only go out to approach God, but they also crucify themselves to the world, and to its lusts, in order that the Messiah may dwell and live in them.

(5) Therefore one who is a monk and has intercourse with the world, shall not dare to receive the ordination of priesthood.

(6) But in order that every suspicion may be removed you, the monks, women shall not enter your monasteries.

(7) Decorate yourselves not only with the hidden works but also with those which are visible; therefore put on the tunics of hair in order that the sorrow of the suffering of your Lord shall always be seen through you; and so we find many saints who in this humble garment approach God so that they may find mercy for themselves and for their people.

(8) Receive strangers diligently, for the Apostle has said this, when he was urging the Hebrew brothers: «The love of brothers shall stay in you, and you shall not forget the love of the strangers, for in this way some became worthy to receive angels without knowing»³.

²⁹ As a consequence, a complete avoidance with any intercourse with the adherents of the Chalcedonense, the Letter of Leo and the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus. The canons demand suffering for the truth even until death.

¹ Lit. «promised».

² Exod. XIX, 10, 14-15.

³ Hebr. XIII, 1-2.

(9) Advise the seculars to bring up their children in the instruction and teaching of our Lord, according to the apostolic precept.

(10) Those who have children dedicated to the *qeyāmā*⁴, shall give them a decent garment from their childhood so that they do not become luxurious in white linen garments.

(11) They shall be sent into the monasteries to read books and to learn conduct in the fear of God. For if many send their children to far-off countries because of the instruction of this world, how much more fitting it is for those who have set apart and offered their children to God, that they have to send them into the holy monasteries for their spiritual wisdom.

c. The Rules for the Monastery Mār Zakkai.

a. The Source

By a fortunate chance, something is preserved from total oblivion in a manuscript which offers information about another cycle of canons established by Jōhannān bar Qūrsōs, bishop of Tellā. This information is found nowhere else. In this case, the collection was made only for monks, as the prescript reports, namely, for the monks in the Monastery of Bēt Mār Zakkai, which was located in the vicinity of Qalliniqos¹.

The document bears the title: «The canons ... which the holy Jōhannān of Tellā has set up for the regulation of the monks, for those in Bēt Mār Zakkai, which is by the side of Qalliniqos ...». This document appears in Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 87², a very interesting manuscript which, though not ancient³, has preserved a number of precious legislative documents⁴. This is the only source in which this text has been preserved together with the title of the cycle.

There is another witness but it brings the canon at the wrong place⁵. The unknown compiler must have found it somewhere else. Textually it shows differences from the cycle in question.

The text of this canon has been edited⁶.

⁴ ~~Can.~~

¹ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, B, p. 334ff.

² Fol. 333a-334b.

³ The manuscript was copied in the year 1907 A. D.

⁴ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, B, p. 469ff.

⁵ Ms. Cambridge Add. 2023, fol. 290b-291a of the 13th cent., WRIGHT-COOK, *Catalogue* II, p. 600 has placed it at the end of the series of the resolutions by Ja'qōb of Edessa.

⁶ *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 61.

The text of this cycle of canons has not survived with the exception of a single canon. The extent of the cycle is unknown. The only canon which did survive, however, was numbered Can. 48.

The initial suspicion that this canon had perhaps been confused with the cycle of the canons given for the clergy⁷ soon disappears. This text makes it clear that we have here to do with a remnant of an independent cycle about which information has been preserved only here. This canon does not appear in the cycle of the canons designed for clergy. It appears as an entirely new piece. It deals with a custom during the distribution of the sacramental bread and wine to give more *margānyātā*⁸ and wine to the members of the elite of the monastic community who, in particular, have fasted very rigorously. Jōhannān regarded this practice as a deviation and wanted to abrogate it.

Secondly, the text leaves no room whatsoever for a doubt that this resolution was set up for the monastic community. The canon begins with a clear reference to the monks in the monastery. The text reads: «For because there are in the monastery as *nazirē*⁹ of excellence, not only from wine but also from bread and from the rest of other food [stuffs] ...». A concession had been made to this elite in the monastic community in the practice of communion.

It is necessary to point out that in this canon Jōhannān saw in Rabbūlā of Edessa an authority on which to rely in his decision on this matter. By the way, our source throws light on a literary critical problem in connection with the letter sent to Gamallīnōs¹⁰ which now has found resolution¹¹.

b. The Rules

48. For because there are in the monastery abstinent¹ of excellence², not only from wine but also from bread and from the rest of other food (stuffs) such as these.

We have heard that there is a practice³ which they do in ignorance: at

⁷ See page 175ff.

⁸ «Pearls» as a metaphorical term for a piece of eucharistic bread, see BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 585.

⁹ «Nazirites», «abstinent», «ascetics».

¹⁰ *Opera selecta*, p. 231f.

¹¹ Jōhannān has used the letter sent to Gamallīnōs whose author is Rabbūlā, VÖÖBUS, «Solution du problème de l'auteur de la lettre adressée à Gamallinos», p. 297ff.

¹ Lit. «Nazirites».

² Lit. «of distinction».

³ Lit. «decree».

the time when they distribute the body and blood, they give more *margānyātā* to these fasters and again from the cup of remission. So they do.

However, we think that because this is alien to the fear of God, this should not be. For it is enough that the priest shall give one *margānitā* or three; in the same way also from the cup of redemption in the great order, they shall receive the remission of their debts — in order that it may not be fulfilled on them what is spoken by the blessed Rabbūlā, bishop of Edessa, about those who are like those who are greedy dogs eating their Lord.

It is a matter of deep regret that only this remnant of this cycle of canons was allowed to live on while the rest of it perished. The whole would certainly have been more important for our knowledge about life in the Monastery of Bēt Mār Zakkai and about the history of monasteries than a regulation about an aberration in liturgical practice. Nevertheless, we do at least learn about the existence of another cycle of canons composed by Jōhannān bar Qūrsōs. Thanks to the very lucky circumstance that some compiler became interested in this piece and included it in his manuscript, this vestige has been preserved for history.

Regarding the relationship of Jōhannān bar Qūrsōs to this particular monastery, we know that he lived there before he was elevated to the bishop's seat⁴. It is also known that this was the monastery in which he lived for a time after his expulsion from his bishopric⁵. It can be said safely that these canons were established after he had left the community of Bēt Mār Zakkai as a monk.

4. THE CANONS FOR THE NUNS

a. The Source

A singular cycle of rules¹ for nuns has been preserved in a unique codex to which we are also indebted for all the information which is available². We owe its existence to the lucky circumstance that the last folio of this codex did not fall out of the codex or become so hopelessly

⁴ 'ELIYA., *Vita Johannis*, ed. BROOKS, p. 45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹ VÖÖBUS, «Die Rolle der Regeln im syrischen Mönchtum», p. 389ff.

² WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 1037.

damaged as to be entirely illegible. To be sure, the margin of the text has suffered severely, so that it is impossible to decipher all of its readings and many a line has become so pale that its sense is painfully difficult to recover. Indeed, the whole text has a very tired look. This monument in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,216³ is highly interesting and important because it is the only remnant of this genre of monastic legislation. Furthermore, even Bar 'Ebrāyā did not reveal any knowledge of this cycle of rules when he compiled his work of codification. All the more then does this parchment folio, a very unique document, deserve our interest⁴.

The title of this set cannot be deciphered — the text has suffered too much.

The injunctions in it are formulated as canons and are enumerated from one to fourteen. Each of these canons begins with the same stereotyped formula: «It is not lawful for any of the sisters». Thus this cycle is designated for a community of nuns. Given the character of the regulation, that would alone suffice to assign such a cycle a special place among monastic legislative sources as a unique exponent of this genre of records. In the entire stream of canonical texts this cycle stands alone.

Several aspects of the coenobitic life have found treatment here: life in the convent, the behavior of the nuns while on the outside, questions of administration, questions of behavior towards one another, strong regulations in the interest of the virtue of virginity, and injunctions for spiritual duties.

It is a matter of regret that nothing is known about the origin and provenance of this most interesting cycle. The introductory lines, which perhaps conceal some vital information, are so damaged that it is impossible to decipher their contents. Under these circumstances, the only information we have is that which the rest of this folio can tell us. This, however, is very meager.

The rules in the interest of the care of the virtue of virginity include one which does not permit the nuns to visit the anchorites, recluses and the stylites in order to bring them alms⁵. The reference to the stylites points out that the rules presuppose a milieu beginning with the middle of the fifth century. This form of asceticism expanded after this period⁶. On

³ *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 64-68.

⁴ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen* I, 1, B, p. 355ff.

⁵ Can. 2.

⁶ The originator of this strange form of monastic life was Šem'ōn who lived about 37 years on columns of different height until his death in 459 A.D. Cf. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism* II, p. 208ff.

the other hand, palaeographically the hand seems to belong to the eighth century. Of course, this may have no bearing at all — the source may have been produced much earlier.

Still less can be guessed about the eventual place of origin. If we allow ourselves to be guided by certain linguistic observations⁷, then it would appear that we have to seek its home not in Mesopotamia but in the western orbit of Syrian monasteries, in Syria where the impact of the Greek terminology could be much more understandable.

On the following pages, that which is brought forward of the text of the cycle is the result of much wrestling, of the struggle which slowly has evinced more and more of the secrets of the pale vellum folio⁸. What in many examinations the eye could not detect in the manuscript, a document itself riddled with gaps, in which the meaning of many sentences remained obscure, ultraviolet photography has helped to expose. Even so, unfortunately, not all of the gaps could be bridged precisely because this, the last folio, has suffered unduly from wear and tear. But at last the thought has become clear and the remaining gaps reduced to insignificance, except in a few instances.

The text of this cycle has been edited⁹, even twice¹⁰.

b. *The Canons*

Canon 1. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to go out from (the monastery) ... alone, without one of the sisters, these who (have received) the garment, ... without (telling?) the abbess, expressly as to where she wishes to go nor to go (anywhere) except to where she had been asked (to go)

Canon 2. It is not lawful for any of the sisters of the monastery to go out to an eating house to eat and drink ..., nor to go the vigils in the assembly (in honor) of the martyrs, not in the town nor outside the town; and also not to go to the vigils ... or wakes or funerals, and also not to banquets, but whoever wants to go to pray in the church of the holy ones

⁷ Can. 2 speaks of τὸ ἐξόφυλλον. It is a strange term and SMITH, *Thesaurus syriacus* I, col. 55 does not throw any possible light on its meaning. Also MARGOLIOUTH, *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus*, p. 19 does not offer any help. Inscripts also do not throw more light on this expression. It is possible that it is a corrupt form, behind it may be the Greek term ἐξω πύλον.

⁸ Fol. 43a.

⁹ *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 64ff.

¹⁰ By Jargy.

on the days ... she shall go if she has with her a female companion according to the authority of the first canon.

Canon 3. It is not lawful for any of the sisters ... something of hers outside the monastery and because of this to go and to roam. And also no stranger shall place something with her ... except only a book, unless he is her father or fleshly brother or her mother or her sister ... through the permission of the abbess.

Canon 4. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to eat anything in the whole town ... to drink except only water.

Canon 5. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to eat with the men, not in the monastery or outside the monastery, except he is her father or her fleshly brother or her father's brother or her mother's brother; and this through the permission of the abbess. And she also shall not eat bread outside of the *bēt de-qūnaōn*¹, destined for this purpose, or in the gate porch except she goes on a necessary journey ... and if she sits at the table of the *qūnaōn* of the entire house, she (shall not) let that a man should sleep or rest² in the inner monastery, entirely not

Canon 6. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to enter alone a house with a man, not inside the monastery nor outside the monastery; she shall also speak with a man on the street without her female companion ... who goes out with her, except ... greeting ... if he is her father or fleshly brother; it also shall not be lawful for them to follow closely the monks on the street, not, ... in order that they do not betray

Canon 7. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to enter inside the vestibule or the court of the monastery of the monks (nor shall they let in) the monks inside the gate of their monasteries, except if the monk is an old priest ... on Sunday in order to consecrate to them the eucharist; and they shall not enter the monastery of the Orientals nor the monastery ... except in case (of a funeral) they enter with the departed one and go out with the entire community of those who accompany the departed one. And they shall not (visit the solitaires) on the mount or recluses³ or the stylites with the pretext to make alms to them or to bring them an offering⁴; (except) for an old *sa'urtā*⁵ who has been appointed

¹ *ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ*.

² Lit. «loosen his girdle».

³ *ḥḥḥḥ*.

⁴ Or does it mean here the eucharist?

⁵ *ḥḥḥḥḥḥ*.

by each monastery for the purpose that through her hands the alms shall be sent.

Canon 8. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to receive (the responsibility of administering a) baptism, except if the one to be baptized is a pagan or a little girl (to be baptized) in expediency of ... only (so) it is permitted ... and through permission of the *sa'urā*⁶ or the abbess.

Canon 9. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to borrow from somebody nor to lend; nor to write a letter nor to receive from anybody, without the knowledge of the abbess, except (her father) or her mother or her fleshly brother or her father's brother or her mother's brother or her sister.

Canon 10. It is not lawful for any (of the sisters) (to neglect) ... or the evening or the morning prayer or the eucharistic liturgy on the day of Sunday, or to go on the day of Sunday from her monastery at all ... eucharist, except in suffering ... necessity; except those who are being sent or (who remain) in the outskirt ... or because of other pressing business that exists in the community; but who neglects one of these ... except in the case of sickness, she shall fast from the meal and from wine for two days

Canon 11. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to go on a journey that is farther more than one mile without (the permission) of the *sa'urtā*.

Canon 12. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to raise a hand against her companion or to accuse (her) and to ... (but whoever dares and) beats her companion shall be excluded from the eucharist and from the meal and from wine for one month ... and abuses (her) bodily, and calls her companion with foul names, and ... her, she shall fast from (the meal)

Canon 13. It is not lawful for any of the sisters that she engage herself (in worldly intercourse?) ... except (it be) because of necessary business, except she has an evident (cause), she shall not go out of her monastery.

Canon 14. It is not lawful for any of the sisters to go to the monasteries of the monks on any pretext

⁶ *ḥḥḥḥḥḥ*.

5. THE CANONS FOR THE NOVICES

a. *The Sources*

Among these various monastic legislative records there is one which occupies a particular place — the rules given for the novices¹. Thus we have to do with a unique source which allows us a look into the training of the beginners in the monastic communities in Syrian monasticism. In addition to these insights, the document also represents us with an interesting cultural historical record.

The title of this cycle as it appears in the oldest attainable manuscript² is: «On the order of the novice-brothers»³. However, the cycle as it appears in another source⁴ also has a different title: «The door on the order of the novice-brothers»⁵.

This record must be considered a very great rarity. In the entire genre of this kind of literature, only occasionally do some regulations and ordinances about the preparation for the beginners in monastic life appear. Let it be noted, however, that no other single cycle of ordinances devoted exclusively to the institution of the novices exists.

The oldest attainable witness⁶ brings this cycle of regulations forward anonymously. Only in later traditions is it associated with the writings of Jōhannān of Dalyātā⁷. As investigation shows, this took place as the outcome of a very complicated process in the history of the preservation⁸ of these regulations.

The collection of these regulations has appeared in a critical edition⁹

¹ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, p. 336ff.

² Ms. Sinai Syr. 24, fol. 191b.

³ *ܬܝܪܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܬܐ*.

⁴ Ms. Jerusalem Mark 88, fol. 98a.

⁵ *ܬܝܪܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܬܐ*.

⁶ Ms. Sinai Syr. 24 is a codex which has been ascribed to the 10th cent., SMITH-LEWIS, *Catalogue*, p. 41. Yet this beautiful parchment codex, written in an elegant Estrangela script, on the basis of palaeographical considerations may well come from the 9th cent.

⁷ See page 334ff.

⁸ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, B, p. 336ff.

⁹ VÖÖBUS, «Syrische Verordnungen für die Novizen», p. 106ff. After the oldest in Ms. Sinai Syr. 24 comes Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,729 of the 12th or the 13th cent., WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 584; Ms. Vatican Syr. 126, of the 13th cent., ASSEMANI, *Catalogus* III, p. 156ff.; Ms. Vatican Syr. 124, of the 14th or the 15th cent., *ibid.*, III, p. 148ff.; Ms. Mardin Orth. 417, of the year 1473/4 A.D., VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*; Ms. Mār Mattai 27, of the year 1484/5 A.D.; Ms. Mardin Orth. 418, of the 15th cent., VÖÖBUS,

which rest on a dozen manuscripts, the oldest of which comes from the ninth century¹⁰. This row of manuscripts among the variety of witnesses¹¹ includes also a manuscript which gives us an idea about the accretions which took place during the history of these regulations¹².

b. *The Canons*On the order¹ of the novice-brothers²

This is the chaste order which is pleasing the Lord.

(1) The eyes of a person shall not look in every direction but shall look only before himself.

(2) He shall not speak excessively but only speak on those (matters) which are necessary.

(3) He shall use only miserable clothing to serve the satisfaction of the needs of the body.

(4) He shall use nourishment, that is, for the sustenance of the body (only) and not in greed, and above all shall eat (only) a little; he shall not despise (these prescriptions) and fill his stomach with what his will chooses; prudence is the virtue of all virtues.

(5) He shall drink wine only exceptionally, when he is with others or because of weakness or illness.

(6) He shall not interrupt the one who speaks and he shall not speak as one who is without discipline, but he shall be longsuffering as a wise man.

(7) Wherever he may be present, he shall be as an inferior one and a servant of his brothers.

(8) He shall not expose one of his members in front of anyone.

(9) He shall not touch the body of anyone except on account of necessity; and he shall not allow his body to be touched by anyone except on account of necessity.

Syriac Manuscripts; Ms. Br. Mus. Orient. 4074 of the 15th cent., MARGOLIOUTH, *Descriptive List*, p. 23f. Other manuscripts, except Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 181 which belongs to the 16th cent., are much younger. See VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, B, p. 339ff.

¹⁰ Still other sources could be ferreted out in the Syrian Orient: Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 232, quire 6, fol. 10b-quire 7, fol. 1b; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 310, p. 957-959; Ms. Baghdad Chald. Patr. 6021, fol. 51a-56b; Ms. 6022, p. 66-78; a volume in yellow leather with measurements 21,5 × 15cm., has no signature; these canons appear on fol. 56a-61b.

¹¹ VÖÖBUS, «Ein Zyklus von Verordnungen», p. 37ff.

¹² Ms. Alqōš 235 which was copied in the year 1889 A.D., VOSTĚ, *Catalogue*, p. 91.

¹ *ܬܝܪܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܬܐ*, «arrangement», «ordinance».

² *ܬܝܪܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܬܐ*, «of the beginner brothers».

(10) He shall be on his guard against intimacy³ as from a murderous death.

(11) In sleeping he shall impose on chaste regulation in order that his guardian angel may not depart from him.

(12) If it be possible, no one shall see him when he sleeps.

(13) In the presence of someone, he shall not spit.

(14) When coughing befalls him at the table, he shall turn his face from the table and (only) then he shall cough.

(15) He shall eat and drink modestly so as it is fitting for God's sons⁴.

(16) In the presence of his companions he shall not stretch out his hand insolently.

(17) When a stranger⁵ shall sit with him, he shall urge him two or three times for eating.

(18) He shall take (something) quietly and place (it) on the table, and he shall not despise it (by the rule of behavior).

(19) At the table his feet and his clothing shall be under control.

(20) When he yawns, he shall cover his mouth, so that it will not be seen and restrain his breath until it passes over.

(21) If he enters the cell — whether of his teachers or of his disciple or of his friend — he shall behave in precaution not to see and touch these (things) which are there; even if he through the owner is constrained to do this, he shall not be persuaded; everyone who is arrogant in this (respect) is a stranger to the schema⁶ of the monks and Christ who is its giver.

(22) He shall not look into the place where the receptacles⁷ of the cell⁸ of his friend stand.

(23) He shall close and open the door quietly — his own as well as that of others — so that its noise is not audible.

(24) In his walking he shall not hurry unless by reason of necessity.

(25) In all he shall be submissive and obedient; (but) he shall not

³ *κατακλιση*, «confidence», *παρηγοια*.

⁴ «Servants» in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,729, Ms. Vatican Syr.126, Ms. Cambridge Add. 1999 and Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 181

⁵ *ξενος*, ξένος.

⁶ *σχημα*, σχήμα.

⁷ *κερα*, «vessels», «utensils».

⁸ *κελλα*, κέλλια.

adhere to one who is captivated by passions or money or worldly (things) so that he will not become a servant of Satan.

(26) He shall talk with everyone in a friendly way and see at every man chastely.

(27) He shall not satisfy his eyes by (the seeing) of the face⁹ of a person.

(28) If he goes on the road, he shall not proceed before someone who is older than he.

(29) If for any reason his companion remains behind, he shall go on only a little and wait until he comes. The one who does not do this is dull as a pig which is lawless.

(30) If his companion speaks with people who meet him, he shall wait and shall not urge the one who speaks.

(31) The one who is sound shall say to the one who was sick for a time: «Come let us eat».

(32) He shall scold no person because of his guilt¹⁰ whatever it may be, but shall in all (things) regard¹¹ himself guilty.

(33) He shall select every low duty¹² in order to do it in humility.

(34) If he laughs, he shall not bare his teeth.

(35) If he must speak with women, he shall speak while turning his face away from her gaze.

(36) He shall keep himself far from the daughters of the covenant¹³ as from the snare of Satan — from their meeting, their intercourse¹⁴, and their gaze, so that the contempt of unclean passions shall not overpower him.

(37) Even if they are his natural sisters, he shall in all (things) guard (himself) against (them) as against strangers.

(38) He shall guard himself against the fellowship with the members of his family¹⁵ so that his heart may not become cold in the love of God.

(39) He shall keep himself far from friendship and intimacy¹⁶ with boys as from friendship with the evil (one).

⁹ *κατακλιση*, πρόσωπον.

¹⁰ *κατακλιση*.

¹¹ Lit.: «shall make».

¹² *κατακλιση*.

¹³ *κατακλιση*.

¹⁴ Or.: «association».

¹⁵ Or.: «relatives».

¹⁶ *κατακλιση*, *παρηγοια*.

(40) He shall have a counselor¹⁷, a close acquaintance¹⁸ and companion¹⁹ who fears the Lord and is at peace in his soul, poor in his (outward) life but rich in the mysteries of God.

(41) On the other hand his own secrets and ways²⁰ he shall keep (to himself) from every man, and his troubles²¹ and struggles²² he shall not reveal.

(42) He shall not remove his monastic garb except on account of necessity²³ — so that he shall not be seen by anyone (without it).

(43) For his natural needs, he shall go out with becomingness — out of respect before his guardian angel.

(44) In all things he shall behave himself in the fear of God and under the constraint (of the thought of) death — even if his heart is not willing.

(45) It would be better for him to eat deadly poison²⁴ than to eat with a woman, even if she should be his (own) mother or sister.

(46) It would be better for him to dwell with a dragon than to cover someone with (his) monastic garb²⁵ and sleep — not even if he is his natural brother.

(47) If the one who is older than he, on the road or in an occupation, says to him: «Come, let us sing (songs)» he shall obey; if not, his tongue shall be quieted and his heart praise God.

(48) He shall neither quarrel about anything.

(49) He shall neither chatter nor lie.

(50) He shall not swear in the name of the Lord.

(51) He shall be despised but not himself despise; he shall suffer hard but he himself shall not harm.

(52) It is better that the (things) of the body perish with the body than (that) one of those (things) of the soul should be lacking.

(53) With no one shall he utter a judgement but he shall endure all, even if he be just and sentenced as a guilty one.

¹⁷ *ṣṣṣ ṣṣ*, «a sharer of a secret».

¹⁸ *ṣṣṣ ṣṣ*, «an intimate acquaintance».

¹⁹ *ṣṣṣṣ*, «partaker», «associate».

²⁰ *ṣṣṣṣṣ*, «manner of life».

²¹ *ṣṣṣ*, «labors», «travails».

²² Or.: «his battles», «wars».

²³ *ṣṣṣ*, ἀνάγκη.

²⁴ *ṣṣṣ ṣṣ*.

²⁵ *ṣṣ*.

(54) His soul shall love nothing of the (things) of the world.

(55) He shall obey the rulers²⁶ but he shall stay far from their fellowship. That is a snare which catches the negligent ones unto perdition. You, a greedy friend of the stomach, for you it were better — if it were possible — to put fiery coals into the stomach than to (experience) the tortures of the rulers.

(56) Being removed from every man and bereft of them, he shall pour out his pity over every man.

(57) He shall refrain from much talking since this extinguishes the fiery impulses, evoked by God, from the heart.

(58) He shall flee from the disputes with his household members and friends as from a rending lion.

(59) He shall not live in the proximity of the angry ones and the quarrelsome ones in order that his (own) heart may not be filled with anger and the darkness of error may not rule in his soul.

(60) He shall not dwell with a boaster that the activity²⁷ of the Holy Spirit shall not be taken from his soul and he (thus) becomes the dwelling place of all the evil passions.

If you keep all the ordinances²⁸, o man, and upon every occasion occupy yourself with meditation about God, truly, within a short time it will be for your soul (thusly), that it in itself shall see the light of Christ and not be blinded forever.

Glory to Him from those who love Him. Amen.

6. THE CANONS FOR THE SOLITARIES

a. *The Source*

That the genre of ordinances and regulations for the life which concerns the sphere reserved for the elite in Syrian monasticism can be supplemented with another discovery which allows us very important insights into this particular phenomenon, that is most welcome.

This cycle tells us that its rules were designed as «ordinances and canons of the solitaries who are in the wilderness»¹. Given the character

²⁶ *ṣṣṣ*.

²⁷ *ṣṣṣṣṣ*.

²⁸ *ṣṣṣṣ*, «admonitions», «warnings», «provisions».

¹ *ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ*.

VI. MONASTICISM DURING THE BIRTH PANGS OF THE MONOPHYSITE CHURCH

1. HISTORICAL PREMISES

Since our treatment is approaching very important events which introduced drastic changes in the Christian communities of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia, and which also were to transform the spiritual and cultural complexion of the Syrian Orient, some preliminary comments are necessary. These should help us to understand the latent but vital forces involved, forces which became the premises for the development which was to occur.

The earliest extant sources of Syrian Christianity reveal a powerful spirit of self-consciousness looking toward independence. This longing is imprinted on every page of the historical record. That which stands at the very forefront of Tatian's¹ thought is profoundly instructive in this connection. It is his dislike, nay more, his hatred, for everything bearing a Greek or Roman label². That kind of spirit shows itself in whatever direction we look. In fact, autonomy is the hallmark which stares us in the face in all of these sources. Syrian gnosis is the least Hellenized of all. The conception of the church, as conceived by Syrians, moves along independent avenues. Theological thought travels along quite indigenous lines in accord with the genius of the works of Aphrahat³ written decades after the Council of Nicea. In the same way does the pattern of Christian life carry its own attributes of sovereignty. Wherever we look, we see the same phenomenon driven by strong impulses to carve out a route of its own. This passion is an essential ingredient of the Syrian psyche. It is an order of rapture which can be perceived not only in literary sources but also in the frescos of early Syrian provenance in which pictures of the screaming and oversize dimensional figures of the Syrian deities are on view⁴. The flames of fury fairly scorch the parchment in the polemical writings of 'Aphrēm, Ishāq, Rabbūlā and others. The fervor of fanat-

icism⁵ leaps out of ascetic sources and the searing lava of mortification of every conceivable kind virtually scalds the works in which such accounts are recorded.

The subsequent history of Christianity in Syria and Mesopotamia becomes comprehensible only if those factors which excited the stimuli for development are taken into account. These elemental factors, in variegated ways, worked towards a trend which ultimately led to the nationalization of the church of the Syrians. Through these, the ascetic movement steadily grew in strength, pressing to the forefront, producing creative spirits. That was how it became a leading force, a phenomenon destined to play an essential role. It is manifested in the spectacular growth of monasticism in Syria and Mesopotamia during the fourth and the fifth centuries. The rapidity of this advance, spilling over from monasteries into caves and cliffs in the mountains, is truly surprising⁶. Special significance must accordingly be attached to this phenomenon in the history of Syrian spirituality. The attendant consequences for the religio-sociological sector were far-reaching. In the light of the immense veneration of the ascetics and monks by the religious masses, it is not difficult to understand how the care of souls gradually fell into the hands of the monks. Indeed, other sectors of the pastoral office also came under their control. The role which monasticism actually played in the religion of the Syrians was very profound. Developing its influence along many ways, monasticism came to exercise extraordinary functions in that society.

This influence was not limited solely to the religio-sociological sector. The monastic movement surged forward as a force capable of supplying creative spirits to widen the range of its activities in the cultural realm. These personalities were able to take over the leadership and to re-invigorate traditions which had been in operation in earlier times.

In the cultural field, we meet a constellation which can only evoke our admiration. The vigor of the Syrian spirit especially is manifested in the area of the native language. The future of the idiom of Edessa, the metropolis of Mesopotamia, after having been adopted as the vehicle for the Christian community, is little short of amazing. The élan attained by the Syriac language is astounding. As the idiom for the literary life, it had the power to absorb all other dialects; even a language like that of

¹ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* I, p. 31ff.

² His apology displays countless and reckless attacks upon everything Greek.

³ See page 18ff.

VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* II, p. 314f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 256ff.; 292ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 209ff.; II, p. 70ff.

Palmyra—widely used in the third century—could not retain its identity in the face of this tongue. A spirit of pride put it at the forefront of anti-Byzantine reaction. Except for functionaries and merchants, Syrians rarely spoke Greek⁷. More still—the determination by steady and ambitious growth to enhance the stature, this idiom, to make it a literary language of the world, is marked.

Aligned with this aggressive promotion of the language, there was an upsurge of new works to enrich the literary life. Like an artesian well, they began to flow abundantly. It is astounding how eagerly the Syrian began to cultivate literary values. Original creations were conceived to join the stream of works which fed and enriched the intellectual culture. Suddenly a classic was produced—through the person of 'Aphrēm, in behalf of the monastic movement. The Syrians began with unparalleled zeal to translate the literary riches produced by the Greeks. Almost everything they could lay hold of was made available in their own idiom. In turn, the national self-consciousness was excited by these new and positive stimuli.

Still other sources were produced to nourish this spirit of self-consciousness. The development of educational institutions, especially loci of higher studies, certainly gave added impetus to the national self-consciousness. Once the torch of learning was ignited in Edessa, it impressed itself upon the intellectual and cultural climate of the whole of the Syrian Orient. Antioch, Edessa, and Nisibis became the most important centers of the religious and national renaissance. A work on the School of Nisibis⁸ describes the impact of this achievement in such areas as schooling, higher education, literary life, scholarly endeavors and mission work. Centers of higher education emerged not only in Edessa and Nisibis, but also elsewhere. This network delineates a most important milestone in the progressive advance in the intellectual arena. It is impossible to underestimate the impact of this development upon Syrian self-consciousness.

In view of such first-rate factors, one cannot overlook the social conditions of the time as revealed by our sources⁹.

⁷ John Chrysostom gives instructive insights into the situation in the surroundings of Antioch. He complains that the people who came from the countryside could not understand his preaching in Greek since they knew only Syriac as their mother tongue. See his homilies on the statues, particularly nr. XXI, PG. XLIX, ed. MIGNE; cf. also THEODORETOS, *Historia religiosa*, ed. MIGNE, col. 1400.

⁸ VÖÖBUS, *History of the School of Nisibis*, p. 1ff.

⁹ The abuses on the part of the bureaucracies was reckless. The peasantry particularly suffered severely. Economic conditions, poor at best, were aggravated all the more by the

It is only when we take all these factors into consideration that we can begin to perceive the forces which had been operative in the Syrian Orient. These were forces looking toward and longing for a time to explode upon the scene.

2. THE BEGINNING OF THE TURMOIL

The Monophysites, after their defeat, kept the hope alive that, just as Eutyches was able to enjoy the favor of emperor Theodosios II, so might good fortune once again bring an emperor to the throne who would give them a new chance. Consequently, the struggle had to be continued.

Once the virus of dogmatic friction¹ was transplanted to the realm of the Syrians², it swiftly began to develop. In all too short a time, the Christological controversy divided the Christian communities in Syria into several fighting camps, the Monophysites, the adherents of the Chalcedonense and the Diophysites. It also affected monasticism which began to make preparations for drastic changes in its life and existence, leaving its life of contemplation, ascetism and the pursuit of spiritual things. Moreover, as time went on, monasticism became the most active champion of dogmatic formulas. As a result, a storm began to rage around these places of peace and quietness, engulfing them in unrest, gradually leading them into the turmoil of endless agitation.

Some time had to pass before Syrian monasticism as a whole was fully activated but when it did it became the main force in all of the doctrinal battles.

To involve particularly respected and influential monks in theological controversies for the purpose of using their authority to tip the scales in a desired direction, was a well tested tactic. Ascetics of repute had earlier found themselves in danger of being dragged into a war over the theological formulas. The battle around Šem'ōn the Stylite³ serves as an

additional hardships imposed. The garrisons located in the communities and travelling functionaries caused endless bitterness with their exorbitant demands and chicanery in regard to food, lodging and so on. Abuses freely practiced by local administrations caused deep resentment, an affront not soon to be forgiven.

¹ FRENZ, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 136ff., p. 260ff.

² LEBON, *Le monophysisme Sévérien*.

³ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient II*, p. 177f., 199f., 208ff. Consistent searching has been able to ferret out new important sources for the vita of Šem'ōn: Ms. Aleppo Orth. 27; Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/9, quire 1, fol. 1b-quire 6, fol. 6, fol. 2b and Ms. 12/17, fol. 53b-72b; Ms. Mardin Orth. 271, fol. 111b-196b; see VÖÖBUS, «Discovery of New Manuscript Sources for the Biography of Simon the Stylite».

illustration. Even before the Synod of Ephesus in 431, he became implicated⁴. The forces from the quarters of the Chalcedonense courted him, trying to hold him for their camp after he had been dragged into it by the opposition movement. But the Monophysites, however, did not abandon their efforts to win Šem'ōn back. Not only did rumors and claims abound, so did correspondence, even fabricated correspondence in his name to heat up the atmosphere. Indeed, the agitated and troubled epoch has put its imprint upon two letters preserved in the Monophysite florilegia purporting to be from the hand of Šem'ōn the Stylite but which are actually falsifications⁵.

As the case of Šem'ōn the Stylite shows, not all of the monks were ready so quickly to interrupt the ascetic pursuit and indeed their calling and vocation in order to respond spontaneously to the call to dogmatic battle. The historical sources show that considerable segments in monasticism did not wholeheartedly accept such an outlook and whose spirit was one of reluctance. That the more peaceful development of monasticism above quarrel and warfare was a burning desire among many monks is evident in the sources. Eminent leaders in the Monophysite hierarchy had more than enough to do in order to prepare themselves for the battle⁶. On the part of the leadership, it was felt necessary not to leave the monks in peace while the battle was raging, when in the heat of combat every new voice and hand became important—measures to involve the monks were therefore mandatory. Thus the monastic communities were increasingly informed of the situation and stimulated to take active part in the struggle over the formulas, even though the formulas were not fully grasped by the ascetics and monks.

Propaganda was carried out on a large-scale basis. Admonitions and letters were sent not only to individual monasteries but to whole groups of them. Jōhannān of Tellā sent instructions on dogmatic matters to the monasteries and convents of the nuns around Tellā reminding them of the need to be vigilant about spiritual and doctrinal purity against all the slyness and cunning of the heretics⁷. The undertaking of Philoxenos exceeds all the efforts made by others. He continued to send inflam-

⁴ Reflections of this also appear in the Greek tradition, Antonios, *Vita Symeonis*, ed. LIETZMANN, p. 192f.

⁵ Of 3 Syriac texts in this direction, at least 2 appear to be Monophysite falsifications; BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 61.

⁶ *Collectio documentorum*, ed. RAHMANI, p. 26.

⁷ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,549, fol. 219b.

matory messages to the monasteries instigating their inmates to take an even greater active part in the dogmatic struggles. In the first place, we must mention his rules. These rules under his name quintessentially reflect his bellicose spirit. He kept on sending circular letters to the monastic communities with the aim of stirring up sentiment against the Chalcedonense. His arguments no less than the way in which he handles this task demonstrate that considerable circles cared little for these quarrels but who thought, as monks living in isolation, that they had only to worry about the pursuit of their ascetic duties. Philoxenos brands such a view simple-minded and dangerous. He tries to undermine such an attitude with the argument that, since truth is comparable to the head, all ascetic works and life are only members of the body. He presses home the point that the members will not profit at all if the head is in danger. In plain language that meant that it made no sense for them to live in monastic communities pursuing their ascetic duties while the battle for the truth was raging. This was his favorite theme and it occurs again and again: the orthodox faith cannot simply be possessed, it must also be protected and defended against those bent upon corrupting it⁸.

Further, Philoxenos launches sharp attacks against those monks who, as he has been informed, are of the opinion that it is their task to keep the right faith to themselves, and to refuse to take part in the battle. He summons all monks to abandon such an attitude of isolation, instigates them to do so with anathemas against Nestorius, Eutyches, their disciples and any and all who support such views. Philoxenos alarmed the monks in the monasteries of Bēt Gaugal, warning them of the wolves, representing paganism and Judaism, who were undermining the true faith⁹. In another letter Philoxenos pours out his wrath upon those monks who have remained reluctant, accusing them either of having received gifts from the adversaries or of fear or of wanting to be friends with everybody. One report describes how Philoxenos in his zeal himself went around to the monasteries and personally instigated and inspired the monastic communities to engage in the actions of battle.

Coming back to the rules established by Philoxenos, it must be said that this cycle crystallizes all of his arguments. Through them, Philoxenos violently attacks those monks and communities whose attitude remained irenic, who did not want to become involved in such quarrels and who

⁸ *La lettera di Filosseno ai monaci di Tell Adda*, ed. GUIDI, p. 51.

⁹ Ms. Vatican Syr. 136, fol. 52b-53a.

wished to continue living according to their vows of consecration. Here Philoxenos says that the monks who dress in sack cloth and are silent while the strife is going on deserves Gezi and will have a closed mouth on the last day as will they of the Legion¹⁰. Finally Philoxenos declares that the monk at the moment he is to enter the battle who, under the pretext of peaceful service, remains silent is a servant of Satan¹¹.

The impression which we receive from all these texts is this, that isolated and exceptional cases would hardly have so irritated the bishop of Mabbug or caused him to put so much weight on his arguments. Much more must have been involved. All the sources reflect a spirit of resistance and reluctance among considerable segments of monasticism, a spirit so strong that it irritated and irked the man under the pressures of combat and in need of auxiliary forces to sustain the front.

In such a situation it is understandable that the means used in the struggle were carefully weighed. In another letter, Philoxenos arranged his condemnations and anathemas in a way to influence monks to create groups of activists ready to step in when dogmatic truth was at stake¹². Another letter of Philoxenos reflects the fact that there was a sentiment in his audience which revolted against the practice of attacking respected holy men who had ended their lives in veneration with anathemas. Monks felt that it was disgusting to anathematize «bones and ashes». In response, Philoxenos roundly declares that he has always anathematized heretics and does so with scruple, and further, that he expects them to overcome their sentiments and to follow his example. He assures them that nothing should restrain them from such condemnations. Not only must heretical doctrine and writings be anathematized, so too must persons, whether living or dead.

We possess later information attesting to this spirit of tenacity among the monks, the spirit to resist pressure to force them to abandon their reluctant attitude. Severos, the patriarch of Antioch, for example, was troubled by these forces in monasticism; in a letter sent by him to an abbot of the Monastery of Cyrus, we are informed of the existence of groups of monks who tried to keep fellowship with those whose views were not acceptable in Severos' eyes¹³. But not only were these monastic

¹⁰ Ms. Sinai Syr. 10, fol. 49a.

¹¹ See page 172.

¹² *Three Letters of Philoxenos*, ed. VASCHALDE, p. 143f.

¹³ *The Sixth Book of The Select Letters*, ed. BROOKS I, p. 38ff.

communities willing to allow men of other convictions to stay in their monasteries, they were even willing to share the eucharistic communion with these men—that can only mean that the abbot had, as well as the majority of his monastic community, closed an eye.

It must be borne in mind that we read about these things at the time of Philoxenos and Severos whereas the actual struggle had started much earlier; the cry to join in the battlefield had sounded decades before, and that fact is notable.

The same theme — the doctrinal quarrel — dominates all of the letters sent by bishops to the monasteries during these times. As many as are the materials which have come down to us, whether letters sent to the monks, abbots and monasteries, or circulars, they all give testimony to the tremendous pressure which was put on the monastic movement. To be sure, the interest in these documents also revolved around the subtle finesses employed in the distinction of the two natures in Christ. Yet, seldom do they offer anything but material which served only to deepen the disputes and to aggravate the conflict. The sublime things which had earlier filled these letters and circulars, e.g. the meaning of the ascetic life, devotion, the care of souls and the furtherance of the spiritual discipline, were rendered mute by the noise of controversy and strife. Almost everything we find in these letters is very flammable stuff, difficult to keep under proper control. Doubtful and sordid means all too easily found a place in such missives. Defamation and lies were utilized to discredit rivals and to stir up wrath and hatred. Thus Mār Ja'qōb and Mār Theodor wrote to the monks in their dioceses depicting their rivals as polytheists, hoping that adversaries so compromised would more easily become the targets of the wrath of holy men, expecting monks to become so alert and vigilant that adherents of such crimes would find no place in the monasteries, nay, even more, that such persons would find no place to stay among the believers.

In the acts of the «Robber-Synod» at Ephesus in 449, there is a letter of a monk, Marqellos¹⁴ and his fellow monks, which help us to reconstruct the happenings in Emesa. Here against Petros, ordained by the bishops of Phoenicia, Uranos rose up as the bishop of the opposition. Concerning his adversary, a Nestorian, he did not shrink from spreading calumny and slander to discredit him¹⁵. The situation then

¹⁴ *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode*, ed. FLEMMING.

¹⁵ Namely rumors that this man of corrupt character was really not an ordained shepherd but installed without prayer by Jews, pagans and clowns who had laid a gospel codex upon his head.

developed in such a way that clerics, lay people and monks of the monasteries, estimated as «very many», went over to the opposition. Thus was the ground prepared for all sorts of conflict.

As a result of the intense agitation, an atmosphere was created which changed the substance and activity of monastic life to such a degree that dogmatics became its main business. The interest of the monks was refocussed, centered upon the controversy on the relationship of the natures of Christ and related problems. These complicated questions gradually began to vex the men in the monasteries and the huts of the anchorites. The correspondence and letters of monks sometimes reveal how difficult it was for them; again and again they needed help and guidance when the problems involved clashed with unsurmountable obstacles of simple-mindedness.

The historical sources are unanimous in one respect—a substantial majority of the monasteries in Syria became strong supporters of the Monophysite movement. Further, monks constituted a special task force representing as they did the piety of the countryside. Their activities in the interest of regional loyalty developed into a steadily growing opposition movement to imperial ecclesiastical policy¹⁶.

The Monophysite movement even began to make inroads into Persian territories. It seems that this, too, started through the monasteries. In the School of Edessa during the time of Hiba, bishop of Edessa, there were Persians who were not satisfied with the Nestorian sympathies, persons such as Philoxenos who later became bishop of Mabbūg, his brother Addai, Barḥadbešabbā of Qardū and Benjamin of Bēt Aramāyē. There must also have been other companions of similar theological conviction. Thus considerable forces must have been available to keep the Monophysite movement in progress.

That was the situation which faced Baršaumā¹⁷ in Nisibis. It looks as if the situation must have appeared alarming to him—judging from his actions in misusing the civil responsibilities given to him in connection with the western frontier of the Persian empire. Sources have preserved reports about his measures of suppressing the Monophysite movement, causing it much vexation and suffering. But the reports on widescale violence and actions of murder¹⁸ as they appear also in Bar ʿEbrāyā¹⁹ are certainly exaggerations.

¹⁶ SOZOMENOS, *Historia eccl.* VI, XXVII.

¹⁷ He had become bishop of Nisibis in 459. See GERO, *Baršauma of Nisibis*.

¹⁸ Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 178, fol. 13b.

¹⁹ *Chronicon eccl.*, ed. ABBELOOS-LAMY II.

3. THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLES

Now we turn to the effects of the dogmatic controversies on monasticism. As a result of the fact that wide circles of often shy and helpless monks were ignited by the controversies, mundane instincts were awakened. The monks soon detected that purely spiritual weapons did not bring enough gain if the willingness to begin with deeds was missing, as in the case of the monks of the Monastery of Mār Bass. They now became energetic and wrote to their bishop, Jaʿqōb of Serūg, recommending on their part that the bishop should spice his letters more freely with condemnations and anathemas, as others had done¹.

All this made the monasteries and cells of anchorites the hearths of dogmatic agitation. The monastery which Severos of Antioch founded in the vicinity of Mayuma became immediately a hotbed of intensive Monophysite propaganda. Anchorites and monks left their cells and monasteries in order to attend meetings and conventions at which they engaged themselves actively in theology and dogmatic debates. Even the reclusi left their cells and the stylites their columns in order to discuss dogmatics. These meetings confirmed their conclusions on dogmatic disputes with lavishly phrased anathemas against their theological adversaries.

Such activities could not long remain academic. Disputes in word soon gave way to deeds which, in turn, poured oil on the flames of passion. Towards the end of the pontificate of Paulos, the Monastery of the Orientals in Edessa rejected his authority and ceased to appear in Edessa to receive the eucharist, as had been their practice. Instead, they began to consecrate the eucharist in the monastery. They also agreed on the demand to condemn the Chalcedonense and the letter of Pope Leo I and everyone venturing to confess that, after the incarnation, Christ had two natures. All monks subscribed to this proclamation as well as the anathema attached to it. A public announcement was posted at the gate of the monastery². The same source adds that other Syrian monasteries imitated their action.

The preparation for battle also necessitated the readiness for physical strength and experience in brandishing a club. Ishāq of Antioch³, in his critique of the monastic movement, with a certain irony says that the

¹ *Jacobi Sarugensis epistolae*, ed. OLINDER, p. 62.

² *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. BROOKS.

³ See page 85ff.

abbots wanted to create and keep in their monasteries troops of strong monks. For this purpose, they selected novices as potential gladiators of combat. When recruiting men, they inspected their measurements, their faces and the strength of their muscles in order to test their fitness for physical wrestling. There is a report which describes how a chorepiscopus gathered the monks together from the monasteries and furnished them with clubs and other means for battle⁴.

Just how much the fanaticism of monks could be fanned and ways of persuading them to engage in enterprises to arouse terror and to pressure one group against another, is shown in an episode of Aksenaya, a friend of Dioscoros. In his plan to compel the patriarch of Antioch, Flavianos, to denounce the creed of Chalcedon and to bring him to the point where he would condemn it along with the epistle of Leo, the most important role in the execution of the operation was given to the monks. He gathered a great number of monks from Syria, stirred them up with the contention that the right faith was in danger and led this troop to the palace of Flavianos in Antioch. This agitated mass, upon whom it was difficult to put strings of discipline, issued demands with much noise and uproar. The attitude of the patriarch about the way in which the petition was presented broke the last string of control over this heated crowd. The final act in the episode was tragic. The population of Antioch appeared on the scene, took up weapons and slew those who did not manage to flee in time. Before the curtain falls on the episode, we are permitted a glimpse at the cleansing of the battlefield in which the corpses of the victims are thrown into the Orontes⁵.

Means of violence evoked means of counter-violence. Thus severe actions against the rebellious attitude of the monks took place. It is reported, for instance, that patriarch Flavianos expelled monks from a monastery which was located near Apamea⁶. Other similar actions against the monastic communities must have been undertaken.

Thus we have arrived at the actual state of war over the dogmatic formulas. The struggle devastated the life of monasticism, not only in this respect that the monks became involved in opposition to ecclesiastical politics, with all the consequences thereof, but also with respect to the fact that the body of the monastic movement was not spared division

in this struggle. The great majority of monks gathered around the champions of Monophysitism while a minority waived about the role to be taken in these battles. The Monastery of Mār Maron long led the battle as the stronghold of the orthodox position.

The virus of division did its work thoroughly. Many monastic communities were divided over the rumpus, and the sources contain many gravamina to demonstrate this sad fact of history. In many communities, the explosive atmosphere made separation inevitable. One part of the monastic community would remain, the rest would form an exodus to seek a new place, naming the newly established after the old one as a legitimate continuation of a place of correct ascetic traditions. But this seldom solved the problem. Often enough, it was the beginning for even more violent quarrels, in the heat of which devotion in life and the fate of the monastery was neglected. It is reported that even such a great center as the Monastery of Mar Bass was crippled by strife and quarrels, falling into such disorder that it needed help from the church⁷. The monks felt that they had more important things to do than to cultivate their piety and Christian virtues. The struggles on behalf of the formulas became jealous. Very little time, even in the best of the cases, was left for spiritual and ascetic duties. All too quickly, monks learned how to use worldly means and learned that suspicions and lies were most effective in the battle. When the monks in the monasteries of Alexander Akoimetos decided to stay loyal to the Chalcedonian faith, they drew the wrath of the Monophysites down upon themselves. The Monophysites, among others, carried the tale that the monks were celebrating an annual festival of Nestorius. Terrifying stories about connections with demons and elicit cults, etc., were fabricated and circulated in order to discredit rivals. Such activities produced a sort of chain reaction. The adversaries of the Monophysites fabricated countermeasures.

Under such circumstances, the enmity went so far that it no longer observed any limit. The sources furnish us with some very realistic pictures. According to these, all the passions were let loose. Rude and rough natures acted freely according to their impulses, as we can see in the account in the «Lives of the Eastern Saints». The episode in connection with the monk, Sargīs, serves as an illustration. He appeared in church during the worship service, walked through the gathered congregations and punched his fist directly into the face of the preacher

⁴ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,734, fol. 156a.

⁵ EVAGRIOS, *Historia eccl.*, III, 32, ed. MIGNE, col. 260-65.

⁶ ZACHARIAS, *Vie de Sévère*, éd. KUGENER, p. 111.

⁷ *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters*, ed. BROOKS.

who belonged to the rival confessional group⁸. Large groups of monks were gathered to use force and pressure against adversaries. The victims who had suffered pain, humiliation and blows at the hands of one party were honored and glorified by the other party as confessors.

Such wrath once let loose caused even greater excess. John of Ephesus, in his church history, has given us a graphic picture of the way in which these activities deformed the ethical face of monasticism. This source not only reports that monasteries were torn by discord, their normal life endangered or completely disrupted, but also that the disorder was so violent and the deeds so sinister that monks were brought before the law courts. The same source states that the monastic garb at this time became an object of mockery and scoffing on the part of the Christians, pagans and Jews, when monks «with beards almost reaching to the ground», chained with an iron ring around the neck, were brought into court as defendants on charges of murder⁹.

All these adventures, which, indeed, could fill a *chronique scandaleuse*, depict monks as rough and brutal. The stories which were told in Syria and Mesopotamia and laid down in the romance of Julian, depict monks in cruel colors, skilled in using the club for punishment, as people who no longer abhorred the doing of merciless deeds¹⁰.

These activities of the monks excited a further step, the advance into ecclesiastical affairs for the purpose of taking over administrative posts. Among many other places, the happenings in Antioch are very significant. In the year 463, there arrived a monk named Peter the Fuller in Antioch. As was true of most of the monks of this time, he clung to Monophysite convictions. His efforts to discredit Bishop Martyrios, accusing him of Nestorianism, were crowned with success. Martyrios was expelled, as were two others who were elected his successors. Instead, Peter himself became bishop upon election by the Monophysite groups. This was a major event in the entire process, one which brought the churches increasingly under the control of the Monophysites.

4. THE FIRST PHASE OF PERSECUTIONS

Since deeper insight has been gained into the growing strife in the monastic communities after the outbreak of dogmatic struggles, it is time

⁸ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. BROOKS.

⁹ *Johannes Ephesimi historia eccl.*, ed. BROOKS.

¹⁰ *Julianus der Abtrünnige: Syrische Erzählungen*, ed. HOFFMANN.

to move on to a treatment of the main events, the events which turned all these conflicts into new turmoil and storms. Since monastic movements constituted the main force on the scene, movements in which peaceful developments were promising, for which good premises were developing internally with all kinds of spiritual stimuli and impulses, as well as external horizons for expanding the monastic movement, it was a cataclysmic tragedy when all that was suddenly interrupted by events which, having been superheated far too long, finally exploded. These destructive events shook monasticism to its roots, upsetting not only its life but also presenting new, yet painful, challenges actively to build up the new church, the Monophysite church.

Ominously, dark clouds came up suddenly and broke out like lightning with the enthronement of Emperor Justin. This fatal event took place at a synod which was convened in July 518 A. D., and at which the fateful decision to condemn Patriarch Severos was taken¹. Other synod meetings quickly convened at Jerusalem and Tyros to follow suit and to adopt the same decision². These ominously dark clouds on the horizon converged to reign destruction upon the Monophysites. Severos³ was deposed and the patriarchal seat given to Paul. Save for a hasty escape⁴ to Egypt, Severos would have lost his life.

Yet, these events constitute no more than a prelude to frightening actions. The state decided to intervene. It chose to use its power, to pursue the way of violence. During the following year, a large wave of persecutions swept through the entire patriarchate of Antioch. Diocese after diocese was screened and robbed of its bishop⁵. The spiritual leaders were deported or imprisoned. The violence constantly escalated.

¹ *Acta conciliorum oecum.*, ed. SCHWARTZ III, p. 76f.

² *Ibid.*, III, p. 77ff.

³ About a new discovery on Severus, see VÖÖBUS, «Découverte d'un *mēmra* de Gīwargī, évêque des arabes», p. 433ff. About the discovery of another new source of Severos see VÖÖBUS, «Ein Panegyrikus von Severos von Antiochien von Qyriaqos».

⁴ About the discovery of a new important source, namely an unknown letter of Severus, see VÖÖBUS, «Découverte d'une lettre de Sévère d'Antioche», p. 295ff. Among his letters this new document is of extraordinary character since it is autobiographical and gives a detailed account of his escape.

⁵ According to a report, more than 40 bishops were expelled from their seats, *Chronicon anonynum ad. A.D. 846 pertinens*, ed. BROOKS, p. 225ff. Among the bishops of the Monophysite church who were expelled in the year 518, there is one who attracts our special attention because of the way he is introduced. He is described as: «Jōhannān, bishop of the Ṭayyāyē, called Zizāyē of Ḥawwārīn who died in exile», MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique IX*, 13, éd. CHABOT IV. This Jōhannān must have been bishop of the Christian Arabs, operating as a shepherd of a parembole community extending over a wide area between Damascus and Palmyra.

apostolate. He must have been a man of extraordinary stamina to brave the immense task which he now faced. His apostolate meant to restore life in a huge territory. It took him on a marathon run from the Persian frontiers to Armenia, Cappadocia and Phoenicia¹³ to try to soothe the deep wounds in the life of the Monophysite communities. He was tireless in encouraging, inspiring, instructing, examining candidates and then performing mass ordinations. His candidates, for the most part, came from the monasteries and the cells of the solitaries. Throughout all of these efforts, his energy seemed to be inexhaustible. In his person, he became a symbol of renewal. Such heroic efforts soon began to bear fruit. As a result, depressed communities felt a quickening spirit. This is demonstrated as well by a telling symptom: growing numbers of turncoats sought him out in order to be pardoned and to be received once more into the Monophysite fold¹⁴. Candidates of ordination came to him «like a flood that is produced in a river by thick clouds»¹⁵ whenever he appeared — in monasteries, on the road, even in the desert. Thus his risky labors enabled the communities and villages to be provided with deacons and priests. The records he is reported to have kept are said to have contained thousands of names of ordained persons¹⁶. In addition, the epic efforts of this shepherd instilled courage, hardened determination, and fanned the flames of the spirit of resistance. His personal example, no doubt, proved invaluable in establishing the essential premises for the renewal of life in the congregations under the most severe conditions.

The hurricane force of the persecutions sought to eradicate Monophysitism forever. However, it failed to win the day — it brought opposite, latent powers to the fore. The Monophysitic strength in the Syrian Orient successfully withstood this first merciless test — an experience that gave it the muscle and iron to face the excruciating trails yet to come.

In 527, the imperial throne fell to Justinian who thus came to the helm to the ship of state. At first, things took a different turn. This shift eased the noise and fury, and monks quietly began to return to their monasteries¹⁷. The communities which had been severely tried and

¹³ *Lives of the Eastern Saints* II, p. 519.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 519f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 518.

¹⁶ The Oriental lightheartedness in dealing with figures and numbers is shown by the figure given — 170,000, *ibid.*, p. 522.

¹⁷ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, éd. CHABOT, p. 270.

tested, even though pressure was still applied, felt a surging of emotion of relief. In this new situation, Jōhannān of Tellā could prosecute his work more openly and boldly, carrying out mass ordinations¹⁸. A graphic view of the situation, in the year 529, is afforded us by one who himself experienced examination and preparation in a nightly gathering, together with a contingent of monks, under the hands of Jōhannān of Tellā¹⁹. The vigor with which he fulfilled this program, however, brought down upon him the wrath of the authorities and left him in a very precarious position²⁰.

Nonetheless, much more was attained during this period, as these reports show. Increasing attention could now be given to the revival of ecclesiastical life. The breach between the church bodies widened to include areas beyond those of doctrine alone. The foundation was laid even for an indigenous canon law designed to regulate ecclesiastical practice in the communities, as well as piety, worship, liturgy and church order. The Monophysite tradition began to take on definite form.

Valuable glimpses are allowed us when we examine the canons issued by Jōhannān of Tellā. The search for new manuscript sources in the churches and monasteries of the Syrian Orient has led us to the oldest and most valuable evidence of these documents²¹. They aim at a complete separation of the Monophysite believers from their opponents and affirm their readiness to suffer unto death for the sake of their creed²². The position and lot of the clergy is also dealt with, especially with respect to its qualifications and further training — certainly a not unnatural consequence of the mass ordinations²³. These legislative sources cast a singular light upon another facet of this endeavors: the institution of deaconesses and their role in the organism of church life. Newly discovered sources exhibit the attention given by him to the nurture and strengthening of organized monasticism²⁴. These years saw not only the growth in the number of Monophysites, but also a

¹⁸ 'ELIYA, *Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae*, p. 23ff.

¹⁹ This company of about 70 monks came from the monasteries of Amid and its surroundings, *Lives of the Eastern Saints* II, p. 521.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 520.

²¹ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1,A, p. 156ff.; I, 1,B, p. 263ff.

²² See Can. 1, *ibid.*, I, 1,A, p. 158.

²³ It was necessary to curb the improvisations and the wild and the exotic in ecclesiastical practice and to specify the qualifications of monks to make them eligible for the priesthood; see Can. 11, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 58.

²⁴ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1,A, p. 156ff.; I, 1,B, p. 267.

consolidation in the life of the church, due in great part to this tireless man. An atmosphere was created in which, for the first time, not only did two separate churches consisting of the clergy and communities, but also two traditions, came into existence, facing one another.

This process of consolidation continued, regardless of new rapprochements by Emperor Justinian. During the summer of 531, he issued an order permitting the exiled monks to return²⁵. Moreover, near the end of the year, a half-dozen bishops, also in exile, were even given a royal invitation to present themselves at Constantinople²⁶. They were understandably very surprised at the turn of events²⁷. What was more surprising, however, was the fact that in Constantinople the shepherds were even allowed to submit a confession²⁸ to the Emperor²⁹.

Another source of understanding and assurance appeared from the Empress Theodora. Her disposition towards the Monophysites was positive as it was precious. This was manifestly demonstrated to all. She turned the Hormisda Palace over to oriental monks and ascetics — to that company of men whose panoply of very peculiar Syrian ascetic customs and practices seemed so strange — to do with as they wished³⁰. The whole undertaking became a spectacle. The palace was converted into a huge monastic camp. A more conspicuous platform for the anti-Chalcedonian forces could hardly have been provided. All this created a new atmosphere. It was this locus which provided the setting for a theological conference³¹ with representatives of both parties in attendance³². The exact date is not known but it must have taken place either in the year 532³³ or in the year 531/33³⁴. Still more — the Monophysites

²⁵ ZACHARIAS RHETOR, *Historia eccl.*, II, 6,2, p. 82.

²⁶ These bishops were able to stay in the capital for more than a year.

²⁷ This is shown by their first reaction since at first they did not go to Constantinople; they wrote to the emperor and from him they received a new invitation.

²⁸ This document is preserved in ZACHARIAS RHETOR, *Historia eccl.*, I, 15, p. 115ff.

²⁹ This confession presented to the emperor *inter alia* rejects Eutyches on the one hand and the position of the council of Chalcedon on the other.

³⁰ Even cells were arranged in the palace to satisfy the needs of the reclusi, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, II, p. 676ff.

³¹ INNOCENTIUS DE MARONIA, *Epistola de collatione cum Severianis habita*, in: *Acta conciliorum oecum.*, ed. SCHWARTZ IV, 2, p. 169ff.

³² Discussions were arranged so that both parties were represented by a six-man delegation; the Monophysites were represented by Sargis of Harrân, Thomas of Germanicia, Philoxenos of Doliche, Petros of Theodosiopolis, Jōhannân of Tellâ and Nonnos of Circesion.

³³ See STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, p. 278ff.

³⁴ *Acta conciliorum oecum.*, ed. SCHWARTZ, IV, 2, p. xxvi.

were allowed to disseminate their propaganda in the capital³⁵ in complete freedom³⁶. Such an atmosphere was heightened all the more with the appointment of the new patriarch Anthimos³⁷. This was certainly a very bold move, rather astonishing under the circumstances. On top of all these events, Patriarch Severos was also invited to come to Constantinople. Here he was respectfully³⁸ received and showered with great honor, and he was also allowed to promote his theological cause³⁹.

Did the Monophysites succumb to new hope in view of the emperor's new role despite his known vacillation in ecclesiastical policy? Did they become so complacent about their activities that they dropped their guard?

Certainly Justinian's move drew Jōhannân of Tellâ away from his activities since he, too, had been invited to Constantinople. But it is highly improbable that the leaders, who had been tested and tried, cherished any illusions about the new imperial policy. The reasons were very obvious. The Byzantine clergy and monks in Constantinople remained adamantly opposed to the new trend in the emperor's policy. This the Monophysite spiritual leaders followed intently. Also, the formulation of an assault detachment of Byzantine monks, their agitation⁴⁰, manoeuvres and intrigues⁴¹, were well known facts to them. Further, the web of intrigue had drawn Syria⁴² into the controversy as the documents themselves prove⁴³. Nor should it go unnoticed that the mastermind of the intrigue, namely the pope, was in contact with circles in Syria. The symptoms of a tour de force to come were perceptible. Thus Severos, who was in Constantinople and remained there for a year, told his friends with resignation: «Do not err, under this emperor the peace of

³⁵ *Lives of the Eastern Saints* XVII, p. 18ff.; see *Acta conciliorum oecum.*, III, p. 139, 148, 181.

³⁶ In the year 553, they utilized the panic caused by an earthquake in order to stage a mass demonstration against Chalcedonians, *Chronicon paschale*, ed. DINDORF, p. 629.

³⁷ The new patriarch was consecrated in June 535.

³⁸ This took place in the year 535.

³⁹ Severos was able to promote the cause of Monophysitism for one year. He also was able to influence the newly appointed patriarch, Anthimos.

⁴⁰ The man who organized the band of monks and who directed the agitation on a large scale was perhaps Menas whose merits earned the patriarchal seat. This has been suggested by SCHWARTZ.

⁴¹ Monks in Constantinople used as an assault detachment, sent a delegation to Rome, *Acta conciliorum oecum.* ed. SCHWARTZ, III, p. 141.

⁴² These actions took place particularly in Palestine and Syria II.

⁴³ ZACHARIAS RHETOR, *Historia eccl.*, 9, 19, p. 135ff.

the church is impossible»⁴⁴. The predictions of Jōhannān of Tellā may also be mentioned in this connection. In the year 529, when John of Ephesus, along with a large contingent of monks received ordination from Jōhannān of Tellā, the latter's admonition was indelibly pressed upon the memory of those participating in the act of consecration: «Pray and cease not, for a time is coming when the men to give the hand of ordination to believers shall be wanting and shall not be found»⁴⁵. Thus, no illusions were entertained that the outlook was less than bleak.

5. THE SECOND PHASE OF PERSECUTIONS

Indeed, that which men like Severos and Jōhannān of Tellā anticipated came about more quickly than expected. The scene suddenly changed when new characters appeared on the stage. The intrigues intensified to a feverish pitch when Pope Agapetus personally took matters into his expert hands. After arriving in Constantinople in 536, he assumed the role of prosecutor, intervening in Byzantine ecclesiastical matters at will. Justinian complied with the wishes of Agapetus in every respect¹. Indeed, even to such a point that the throne itself suffered humiliation².

The pope's strategy was executed with lightning speed. Anthimos, patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed and Menas appointed his successor, consecrated by the pope³. The submission of a confession, Chalcedonian in theology, was required⁴. A synod which accelerated the turn of events was swiftly convened⁵. Monophysite leaders were anathematized⁶. Severos was arrested and thrown into prison⁷. The imperial

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136ff.

⁴⁵ *Lives of the Eastern Saints* II, p. 521. See also a letter written about 530 in DRAGUET, «Une pastorale anti-julianiste», p. 83ff. This addition rests on Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,663 which unfortunately has preserved only the first part of this interesting document. A tireless search for new manuscript sources has recovered the only complete text preserved in Ms. Mardin Orth. 350, see VÖÖBUS, «Entdeckung neuer Handschriften des anti-julianischen Pastoral Schreibens», p. 114ff.

¹ Whether Justinian, indeed, saw in the pope a help against Theodora, SCHWARTZ, *Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians*, p. 44f., cannot be discussed here.

² According to the official account given by the Roman curia, *Gesta pontificorum Romanorum*, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 142, the orthodox pope conquered the tyrannical heretic Justinian. This, of course, is a distortion; there was no resistance at all against the pope.

³ The consecration by the pope on March 13, 536, was itself an unheard of event.

⁴ *Epistolae imperatorum, pontificum, aliorum*, ed. GÜNTHER, p. 338ff.

⁵ From May 2 to June 4, 536.

⁶ *Acta conciliorum oecum.*, ed. SCHWARTZ III, p. 26ff.

⁷ His arrest was regardless of the assurance of guarantee given to him. However, Theodora salvaged him from the worst and helped his escape.

decree sanctioning the decisions of the synod followed upon the heels of these actions⁸. The Monophysites were banished from the capital. Other drastic actions followed suit — works of Severos were consigned to destruction⁹ and cruel punishment was established for everyone who had the courage to copy Monophysite writings¹⁰.

A new vector in the zigzag course of Justinian's ecclesiastical policy now occurred. The turn of events brought a return to violence. In consequence, a new persecution swept through the patriarchate of Antioch. This persecution by far exceeded the previous one in cruelty and severity. Patriarch Ephraem¹¹ took these cruel actions into his own hands and carried them out, covering the entire territory¹². This took place during the winter of 536/7¹³. This prelate was accompanied by a detachment of soldiers¹⁴ in order to ensure the submission of the rebellious Monophysites and to break their spirit¹⁵.

This persecution was carried out with a savage fury, feeding upon inhuman cruelty, coupled with the power of arrest, imprisonment and expulsion¹⁶. The impact of the ferocity was so fierce that many broke under the pressure¹⁷. Particularly the monks — deprived of house and home — once again became wanderers. The blows became more and more cruel. Even nature itself, an extraordinarily cold winter, seemed to support the patriarch in his work of destruction¹⁸. Most of the shepherds, if not all, fell victim. Further, opportunities to provide the suffering church with new shepherds became very limited. Two years later, Jōhannān of Tellā, having returned from Constantinople, was able to ordain new shepherds only in Persia¹⁹ — nowhere else! The hunt for him was concentrated in the mountains of Šiggar²⁰. Things moved

⁸ On August 6, 536.

⁹ *Novella XXXXII*, issued on August 6, 536.

¹⁰ For this crime, his hand had to be chopped off.

¹¹ Concerning this man, see LEBON, «Ephrem d'Amid, patriarche d'Antioche», p. 365ff.

¹² Namely Aleppo, Qennešrīn, Mabbūg, Serūg, Edessa, Šurā, Qalliniqos and the rest of the frontier area, Reš'ainā, Amid and Tellā.

¹³ ZACHARIAS RHETOR, *Historia eccl.* 10, 1, ed. BROOKS, p. 175.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174ff. See a moving account of the horrors and endless vexations of the monasteries of Amid in *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 607ff.

¹⁵ Some were burned alive, *ibid.*, p. 524.

¹⁶ About Presbyter Qūrā of Amid, see ZACHARIAS RHETOR, *Historia eccl.* 10,3, p. 173.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10, 1, p. 174ff.

¹⁸ The extraordinarily cold winter multiplied the agony of the calamities and many died, *ibid.*, p. 174f.

¹⁹ ELIYA, *Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae*, p. 58ff.

²⁰ Jōhannān was detected by some functionaries with the aid of a «strangulator of the robbers». JOHANNES MALALAS, *Chronographia*, ed. DINDORF, p. 382.

rapidly towards still greater catastrophes. This courageous shepherd was finally captured, imprisoned and killed²¹. Monophysitism had entered upon its most critical phase.

That the consequences were of the utmost gravity to the sufferers was clear. A process of strangulation was in effect. Again, overnight the problem of the shortage of the clergy became extremely important. The situation suddenly experienced an utterly critical tremor, presenting as it did the end of all that had been built up at such enormous cost and effort. The moment had arrived, the moment which had haunted the spiritual leaders — the flock in the Syrian Orient was without any shepherds. Philoxenos of Mabbūg, Tūmā of Maraš, Tūmā of Damascus, Tūmā of Dārā, Petros of Reš'ainā, Jōhannān of Tellā and others were dead. Patriarch Anthimos, Patriarch Theodosios of Alexandria, Peter of Apamea, and Jōhannān of Hephaistou were kept in confinement at the fortress. On top of all that, Patriarch Severos breathed his last in the year 538.

After the death of Patriarch Severos of Antioch, the ancient patriarch of Alexandria, Theodosios was the incontestable spiritual leader of the Monophysite community. However, Theodosios and three hundred members of his clergy were imprisoned in the fortress of Terkos, not far from Constantinople, for many years²². Theodora was able to give to the old patriarch a place of refuge. He enjoyed the favor of Theodora to the end of his life, on June 19, 566, after having lived nearly thirty years in exile in Constantinople²³.

The situation was desperate beyond belief. Only very little could be done to achieve some relief in this process of strangulation. Jōhannān of Hephaistou, a Syrian²⁴, decided to do something about it. By a ruse²⁵, he managed to slip out of internment at Constantinople. He made secret trips to accomplish his work, to confirm and strengthen the besieged community and to provide the flock with shepherds. Various clandestine journeys took him to Asia Minor as far as Tarsus, Silicia, Cyprus and

²¹ Jōhannān was dragged off to Antioch where he spent the remainder of his life in imprisonment; there he died on February 6, 538.

²² *Lives of the Eastern Saints* XVII, 35, XVIII, p. 528.

²³ *Incerti auctoris chronicon Ps. Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. CHABOT II, p. 142.

²⁴ About him see VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, A, p. 178ff.

²⁵ Under the pretext of illness, Jōhannān obtained permission from Theodora to live separately in a villa. He used this opportunity and from the place he slipped out on his secret mission; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 530ff.

Rhodes²⁶. Naturally, assistance to the congregations in the oriental communities was very limited despite such extraordinary efforts. It is certain that some persons from these communities traveled great distances at enormous risk in order to receive ordination. For the oriental provinces, the only avenue available to them was to be found in Persia. But in that territory, only one bishop, Qyros, was left²⁷. He carried out ordinations during the period 537/8-544/5 at which time, regrettably, the frontier was closed because of the war²⁸.

6. THE RESCUE

Just when darkness and despair were at their deepest, there occurred an event which was entirely unpredictable — the genesis of the Monophysite Church is rich in such dramatic moments. Al-Hārit bar Gabala, king of the Arabs, himself a Monophysite Christian, like the greater part of his tribe, whom patriarch Ephraem of Antioch had in vain tried to convert to orthodoxy¹, suddenly appeared in Constantinople in the year 542/3. He was determined to create a closely knit Monophysite realm in his kingdom and he demanded two or three bishops for Syria from Theodora. The empress complied. This brought salvation at the very brink of the chasm. Two monks stepped forward to salvage the catastrophic situation. It must rank as one of the most decisive events in the history of the period when Patriarch Theodosios intoned the ceremony of the episcopal consecration of the two monks who were in Constantinople at that time: Ja'qōb Būrde'ānā and Theodoros.

The history of the rescue of the Syrian Monophysite church is connected with the monk called Ja'qōb Būrde'ānā who has become an immortal personality. In fact, this monastic figure has secured a lasting place in the annals of the history of his church.

Ja'qōb² was born around the year 500 at the village of Gamāwā, north of Tellā, and entered monasticism in the Monastery of Phesiltā (i.e. the

²⁶ The third such journey probably took place in the year 541. He also used literary means to strengthen his mission. From Cyprus, he sent a letter with the canons to the Syrian abbots in the Orient, see VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, A, p. 175ff.

²⁷ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, p. 309.

²⁸ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 522.

¹ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique* II, p. 246ff.

² He was son of Theophilos, a priest in Tellā, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 353ff., p. 228.

Quarry)³. His education was carried out in various places⁴. Of course, the sources for the life of such a personality are full of apocryphal details; however, they do not overshadow the historical particulars of his life and work.

Since Ja'qōb was a man of education⁵, versed in theological and scriptural knowledge, he was able to prosecute his mission very effectively in the defence of his doctrines and faith; he spoke Syriac, Greek and Arabic with equal fluency.

Ja'qōb was a humble monk⁶ who remained loyal to his vows of monastic poverty, rigor and asceticism. He was widely known for his conspicuous garment and who was called Burde'ana⁷ from wearing a horse or saddle cloth or patchwork garment or rags as his garment, signaling his devotion to personal poverty. That fame, which spun a halo around his life, occurred despite his wishes and against his will.

In the course of this journeying, he came to Constantinople with another Syrian monk by the name of Sargīs, whom he, by the way, did not forget when the time came to consecrate the first prelate for the patriarchal see of Antioch⁸.

The second was Theodoros, who was an Arab by birth and also a monk⁹. Theodoros became bishop of the Arabs whose settlements consisted of tents. The assertion in the unhistorical vita¹⁰ about him, that his seat was located in Boşra¹¹ is a mistake. In truth, it was the *hīrtā*¹² as John of Ephesus correctly remarks¹³. Thus, Theodoros

³ It is very fortunate that unknown sources have enriched the literary traditions regarding Baršaumā: Ms. Damascus Patr. 12/18, fol. 445ff.; Ms. Mardin Orth. 267, p. 95-107; Ms. Mardin Orth. 275, fol. 134b-155a; Ms. Mardin Orth. 276, p. 27-39; Ms. Mosul Orth., copied from a manuscript in the village of Arbū in Tūr'Abdīn, has no signature; the vita appears on fol. 47-60a; Ms. Qartāmīn, bound in red cloth, has no signature; its measurements are: 24,4 × 17cm; the vita appears in the corpus as nr. 3. About the discovery of new manuscript sources on Ja'qōb, see VÖÖBUS, «Neue handschriftliche Funde über die Biographie des Ja'qōb», p. 37ff.

⁴ After a solid education, he entered a monastery on Mount Izlā.

⁵ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 690.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 690f.

⁷ *re. nias*.

⁸ See page 223f.

⁹ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*.

¹⁰ *Commentarii de beatis Orientalibus*, ed. VAN DOUWEN-LAND, p. 206.

¹¹ By the way, it is interesting to note that the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus later on exactly followed the same pattern in consecrating bishop for Edessa and Boşra. DRAGUET, «L'ordination frauduleuse des Julianistes», p. 78.

¹² *re. nias*, *hīra* of the Arabs, thus meaning the main camp of the tribe.

¹³ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 693.

served in the diaspora as a travelling bishop. An immense territory came under his jurisdiction — the entire desert, Arabia and Palestine, up to Jerusalem¹⁴ — an area which had become a place of refuge for the hunted. His labors led to fruitful work.

Bishop Theodoros became bishop of the parembole, i.e. encampments. Theodoros under the circumstances in the realm of Hārith could only operate among the Arab tribes and clans under circuit commissions. The silhouette of his bishopric is extraordinary in character. Besides tents, there were buildings and enclosures, fortified compounds and fortified bloc-houses scattered about at various places more or less numerous in strength. At the heart of such encampment settlements was Jābiya in Jawlān. The importance of this center was enhanced¹⁵ by the fact that it also included a sanctuary erected to the cult of Sargīs¹⁶. Another rather important center was located in the vicinity of Dumair, located northeast of Damascus, known earlier as a Roman military fortification. It is marked by archaeological remains of which a corner tower has survived¹⁷. Also Jillīq must be mentioned — it was located in the Ghawṭa, a region around Damascus. In the vicinity of this strong point there was located the Monastery of 'Uqabta¹⁸, situated south of Damascus. Under the favors of al-Hārith, in addition to the restoration of ecclesiastical life, numerous monasteries were founded and the existing ones brought to new florion.

The same lively ecclesiastical activity was fostered also by Mundhir, the son of Hārith. He was too eager to build churches and monasteries. One of his sanctuaries comes to the fore in connection with a list of subscriptions given by the abbots of the monasteries located in the province Arabia. Here it is recorded that the man who wrote on behalf of Abbot Sargīs, of the Monastery of 'Uqabta, was his deputy a priest Eustathios who is characterized in the following way: «Who is priest of the church of the friend of Christ, the illustrious Patricius Mundhir»¹⁹.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 693.

¹⁵ See page 236.

¹⁶ DUSSAUD-MACLER, *Rapport sur une mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie*, p. 48.

¹⁷ WADDINGTON, *Inscriptions grecques*, nr. 2562; cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, p. 300f.

¹⁸ Cf. NAU, *Les Arabes chrétiens*, p. 62.

¹⁹ *Documenta ad origines monoph.*, subscription nr. 121.

7. REVIVIFICATION OF THE COMMUNITIES

The advent of these two spiritual leaders in monastic garb did not mean reprieve but rescue. They were aware of the tremendous burden laid upon them and their mission. As it turned out, a new leaf in the book of Monophysite history had been turned.

The real career of Ja'qōb began after his ordination into the episcopacy when he was smuggled out of the Byzantine capital and entered upon the immense task of rebuilding his church. His efforts in that regard have become legendary.

Ja'qōb became bishop of Edessa with jurisdiction over Syria and the regions to the west. Thus, his territory included all the areas beyond the diocese of Theodoros, extending from the Persian borders to Constantinople¹. Ja'qōb undertook the enormous task of spiritual leadership within his enormous jurisdictional domain² and gave it all he had. A moving, vivid account of his heroic endeavors to encourage, comfort, strengthen and nurture the life of the communities under his care is given in the colorful pictures preserved in John of Ephesus³. Constantly harassed by pursuers, he moved from village to village. It is stated in these texts that «he would complete all the work of this ministry in one night and perhaps one day, and would pass the next night thirty or forty miles or more farther on»⁴. The number of ordinations⁵ he performed in this necessarily clandestine fashion is reported in fantastic figures⁶. Unfortunately, solid documentation for the study of this period is studded with lacunae. The picture Jōhannān gives is spectroscopic, yet not adequate; his moving panegyric does not include substantial data so essential for the historian. Some information can be culled from the sources about the tradition and habits which continued to live on in ecclesiastical practice, as is seen, in particular, in the canonical literature produced by Ja'qōb of Edessa⁷. Newly discovered documents have unearthed important unknown material⁸ which

¹ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 153f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 623.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 623.

⁵ About the bishops whom he consecrated see HONIGMANN, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie*, p. 178ff.

⁶ Jōhannān of Ephesus believes that 100,000 is not too high a figure for the number of his ordinations, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 696f.

⁷ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, A, p. 203ff.; I, 1, B, p. 273ff.

⁸ *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition I*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 233ff.

increases our knowledge⁹. These documents show us how difficult it was even at a later time to wean the monks from certain ritual and liturgical practices and from exercising priestly functions. They reflect the role which the contingent of monks once had played, that is, during the most critical period under discussion. Among these resolutions, there is one that tells us something about the travelling priest on the way to serve the scattered flock — a real *conversatio viatorum*: it describes, in striking fashion, how a deacon could serve as an altar for the celebration of the eucharist. What a portrait of ecclesiastical life under emergency conditions, of the cultic life geared to meet the demands of being on the move in secrecy and in haste!

Since, in everything that took place, we have to do with very important historical events, some additional comments are inevitable.

Ja'qōb was not granted the time to stay in one place and to occupy an episcopal residence. He was constantly on the move, tirelessly journeying, moving from one country to another. He is reported to have traversed Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, Lycia, Phrygia, Caris, Asia, and the «Islands of the Sea», referring certainly to Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, Mytilene, and Lesbos¹⁰. Even this list is incomplete — it is also known that he traversed the whole of Mesopotamia, Arabia, Sinai and Egypt.

Wherever he appeared, he began by ordaining new bishops and priests for the local communities. It is very doubtful, in the entire history of the Christian church, whether there has been a bishop who has consecrated more than the record number of clergymen ordained by him. The Orientals have often been careless with numbers, inflating them far too much, and that is the case also in the biographies of Ja'qōb, but there is no doubt the number of his ordinations must have reached into the thousands.

Bishops consecrated by Ja'qōb were: Dimet of Laodicea, Jōhannān of Seleucia in Syria, Qonon of Tarsos, Eugenios of Seleucia in Isauria, Jōhannān of Qennešrīn, Sargis of Harran, Jōhannān of Šūrā, Eunomios of Amid, Jōhannān of Ephesus, Petros of Smyrna, Jōhannān of Pergamum, Petros of Tralles, Jōhannān of Chios, Paulos of Aphrodisia and Julyānā of Alabanda¹¹. This number does not include twelve

⁹ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*. I, 1, A, p. 203ff.; I, 1, B, p. 273ff.

¹⁰ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 153f.

¹¹ *Ibid.* An apocryphal vita of Ja'qōb even speaks of 87 or 89 bishops consecrated by Ja'qōb, a greatly inflated number of consecrations.

bishops consecrated for the provinces of Egypt whose names are unknown to us.

In connection with the consecration of the Monophysite bishops, the source at our disposal opens interesting vistas. That is due to the character of the document which introduces these bishops in a very remarkable way. The list is arranged in the following way: Dimeṭ from the Monastery of Aphthonia, Jōhannān in Seleucia of Syria, of the Monastery of Mār Bazi, Jōhannān in Qennešrīn, of the Monastery of Mār Bas, Sargīs in Harrān, of the Monastery of Aphthonia, Jōhannān in Šūrā, of the Monastery of Mār Hanīnā¹², etc. This stereotyped arrangement, which adds after the name of every bishop the name of his monastery, allows us insight into conditions subsequent to the creation of the Monophysite episcopacy. It is to be recalled that the Chalcedonian bishops residing in the imperial towns, after the dismissal of Patriarch Severos, did everything they could in order to hinder their ecclesiastical rivals from taking up residence in their episcopal residences in these towns. That condition, inspired by hatred and instigation, continued to be the case. As a result, the new Monophysite bishops, due to the maleficence and rudeness of the orthodox prelates, were not allowed to occupy their episcopal residences in the towns to which they had been appointed; accordingly, the abbots and monks who had been consecrated had no option but to live and function in and from monasteries close to the titular sees. In this respect, they had to follow in the footsteps of their patriarchs who had also not been allowed to set foot in the capital and were forced to reside elsewhere — even for several generations¹³. Thus this document conjures up a situation in which the monasteries continued to function as episcopal hinges in the reorganization of the Monophysite church.

These facts also explain the peculiar references to the Monophysite bishops in many sources to the effect that they are spoken as bishops so and so of the monasteries whose names are given.

One factor in favor of the Monophysite movement must be brought out. The concentrated resistance in monastic circles in Syria and Mesopotamia, and even in exile was, in a certain sense, protected. All the

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Even for 203 years, namely, from the year 518 to 721, in which not a single Monophysite patriarch of Antioch could set up residence in the city of Antioch for which they had been consecrated as patriarchs; MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, éd. CHABOT IV, p. 456.

attempts of the orthodox authorities were futile so long as the realm of the Syrian spirit remained inaccessible to them, unversed as they were in their language¹⁴.

In the east, great success came to Monophysite monasticism in Persia. In the mountain region of Izlā, between Mardin and Nisibis to the south, and Ġezirat ibn Umar to the east, it was able to establish its leading monastic center, one which developed quickly into a place of pilgrimage — Tūr 'Abdīn¹⁵. Here monasticism became almost entirely Monophysitic. Tūr 'Abdīn became a most important spiritual center of the Jacobite faith. Nestorian monasticism, which had at first played a role here, as in the time of Mār 'Augēn, gradually was drawn into the stream of the general development of this region, the tradition of the Monophysites.

8. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HIERARCHY

Two phases can be distinguished in Ja'qōb's activities in building up his church. The records we have can only be interpreted properly to mean that Ja'qōb initially wished to confine himself to the accomplishment of the most urgent and vital tasks; to create a Monophysite hierarchy at the very beginning was to attempt too much. The time for this was to come. When it did, Ja'qōb took the initiative¹. The first step was to select two monks for metropolitan duty in Asia Minor².

As to the exact date of this significant event, the sources remain silent. Some have even created confusion³ for scholars⁴. Assumptions about an early date⁵ for the consecration of the patriarch by Ja'qōb⁶ has simply

¹⁴ A similar situation occurred in the Coptic realm. In Egypt the strength of Monophysitism was concentrated in the monastic strong points in the wilderness of Scete. The Coptic idiom which the officials of the Byzantine religious did not know protected the Copts to a measurable degree.

¹⁵ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient II*; p. 224ff.

¹ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 697.

² Eugenios of Isauria and Conon of Cilicia; the first became the metropolitan of Tarsus, *ibid.*, p. 697.

³ Ps. - Dionysios has obviously an erroneous chronology; a large number of consecrated bishops appear in connection with the time of the great pest, *Historia eccl.*, ed. CHABOT, p. 110. It has been wrongly assumed that this section is simply a copy of the work of John of Ephesus.

⁴ About this question, see VAN ROEY, «Les débuts de l'Église jacobite».

⁵ Regarding the time of the consecration of Sargīs to the patriarchal see, Devreesse places his consecration into the year 538, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche*, p. 119. But this is absolutely impossible because Ja'qōb had not yet been ordained a bishop at that time.

⁶ The consecration of Sargīs as patriarch of Antioch has been placed into the year 538, ŠANDA, *Johannes Philoponos, Opuscula monophysitica*, p. 6.

muddled matters so much the more⁷. The ground is more secure when we take a different fact, namely, the death of Metropolitan Constantinos into consideration⁸. It is known that he died in the year 553⁹. This fact becomes important as soon as we realize that his death left Ja'qōb free to act¹⁰. Confirmation seems likely from another angle—from the list of the bishops and archbishops consecrated by Ja'qōb. This list begins with Dimet, the successor of Constantinos in Laodicea¹¹. This consecration must have taken place soon after the year 553. The impression given is that this prelate was the first to be consecrated by Ja'qōb. If so, then more than a decade passed before Ja'qōb began to expend the hierarchial upbuilding of the church. The list just mentioned then provides us with desirable information on the framework of the first hierarchial organization.

How this work of systematic upbuilding is creating metropolitans¹², archbishops and bishops¹³, and finally creating the highest office in the Monophysite hierarchical ladder¹⁴, consecrating his former fellow brother in the Monastery of Phesīlthā, and then another monk, in detail, does not concern us in this work.

⁷ About 547-50, according to JÜLICHER, «Zur Geschichte der Monophysitenkirche», p. 37. However, this event actually took place later, about the year 557, see BROOKS, «The Patriarch Paul of Antioch», p. 469.

⁸ Constantinos, the metropolitan of Laodicea, upon the death of Patriarch Severos, was invested with the dignity of deputy. About this document and the newly unearthed manuscript sources, see VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen* I, 1, A, p. 167ff.

⁹ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, p. 312.

¹⁰ See also HONIGMANN, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites*, p. 171f.

¹¹ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 156ff.

¹² Two metropolitans were appointed for Syria, namely for Laodicea and Seleucia, and one for Mesopotamia, namely for Amid.

¹³ Of the three bishops consecrated for this area, one was assigned to Syria, namely for Qennešrē, one to Osrhoene (Harrān), and one for Euphratesia, namely Šūrā. Ja'qōb consecrated bishops and archbishops also in Egypt, Asia Minor and the Island of Chios.

¹⁴ When he consecrated Sargīs is not clear. In any case, it seems that this must have taken place about the year 558; shortly before that time Johannes Philoponos dedicated his work to him, see JOHANNES PHILOPONOS, *Opuscula monophysitica*, p. 81ff. Ja'qōb had to repeat this act of consecration of the patriarch very soon. Sargīs died about 3 years later. It was Theodosios, the former patriarch of Alexandria, who after a seditiousness of 3 years, wrote to Ja'qōb and asked to consecrate Paulos to the vacant seat of Antioch, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, ed. CHABOT, p. 89f. He consecrated Paulos the Black who was an Egyptian by birth but who had spent part of his monastic life in various Syrian monasteries. Of course, as a Monophysite patriarch, he was not able to enter his see in Antioch, having to hide himself from the agents who received their orders from Constantinople. However, he was able to find a place of refuge from his pursuers at the court of the Ghassan ruler, al-Hārith ibn Jabala and his son al-Mundir.

The time granted for the work of Ja'qōb was quite lengthy and he could continue his work of reviving and upbuilding until the end of his life. It is a miracle that this man who was pursued, who had a price on his head, was never caught by church agents working for the orthodox cause. When he breathed his last on July 30, 578, he was still in harness — on his way to Alexandria.

In the company of a delegation of eight persons on their way to Alexandria for the purpose of strengthening ties between the two Monophysite churches — the one, the Syrian, and the other, the Coptic, Ja'qōb and three other members of the delegation died in a mysterious way in the Monastery of Romanos located on Mount Casion, close to the Egyptian eastern frontier.

After the sudden death of Ja'qōb Būrde'ānā, Damian, the patriarch of Alexandria, wrote a letter of consolation to the oriental clergy¹⁵. In the year 622, the earthly remains of this famous founder of the Monophysite church were returned from abroad and laid rest in the Monastery of Phesīlthā near Tellā, the same place where he had lived as a monk¹⁶.

Ja'qōb's selfless efforts and self-sacrificing labors in reviving ecclesiastical life and upbuilding the structure of his church were crowned in such a way that the Monophysite church in Syria and Persia came to be known popularly as the Jacobite Church.

9. AFTERMATH TRIALS

Before this chapter is brought to a conclusion, something of the remaining history of the Monophysite church needs to be included. This concerns suffering even still more, namely, the last tests and trials. Under the rule of Justin II, persecutions flared up again. The first years of this rule were marked by tolerance. However, in the year 572, under the influence of orthodox pressure, he returned to the traditional idea of establishing the unity in the church through persecutions. Actions were undertaken against all those who had remained outside the orthodox fold with the Monophysites in the first place. Deeds of violence were directed against their bishops, priests and monks¹. Their monasteries were closed, their churches devastated and their spiritual leaders

¹⁵ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, p. 366ff.

¹⁶ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 268ff.

¹ JOHANNES EPHESENI, *Historia eccl.*, ed. BROOKS, p. 000.

arrested, thrown into prison or expelled. Their fate is exemplified by the experiences of John of Ephesus who endured repeated imprisonments, an exile of more than two years and life in constant wandering². The atrocities carried out during this period did not lag behind those horrors committed in previous persecutions. Again Syria went through an ordeal of suffering, except for the area under.

This was not yet the end. Tiberios, who succeeded Justin II in 578, exhibited the same zeal for orthodoxy; after a short pause which allowed the Monophysites a respite, a new wave of persecutions was unleashed³. With the arrival of Mauricios in 582, a period of tranquility followed; it lasted only to the year 598, when the wave of persecution began again. These were the last of the ordeals. The Monophysite church, however, had gained enough strength to survive even these terrors.

VII. THE ROLE OF SYRIAN MONASTICISM IN MISSIONARY EXPANSION

1. MONASTICISM AS A FACTOR OF CONVERSIONS

The impact of Syrian monasticism on the Arabs is illustrated by the transliterational transition of Syrian ascetic terminology into Arabic. Basic Syriac terms were absorbed into Arabic beginning with such vocabules as *daira* which becomes *dair* in Arabic, a recluse *habīša* and *habīšāyā* which becomes *habis* in Arabic. The general term in Arabic for all the different groups of Syrian ascetics was *rāhib* «(God) - fearer».

In the history of the missions among the Arabs, monasticism was an important missionary factor. All sources, even the earliest, with one accord emphasize the role played by ascetics and monks. Sozomenos reports that the chieftain of an Arab tribe, Zokomos, a phylarch, became Christian through the impact made upon him by a monk¹. A similar report is recorded in Socrates. He tells us about an Arab with the name of Moses who lived by himself as an anchorite in the desert and who, according to the wish of the Arab queen Mawiya, was consecrated bishop of her people² about 373 under Emperor Valens. Socrates adds that the war between Byzantium and the Saracenes was thus brought to an end.

From those times onward, this process among the Arab tribes accelerated both in speed and power. With the emergence of a new form in Syrian asceticism, namely the stylites, this was given a new impetus for this form of ascetic life exercised a deep influence upon the sons of the desert. In this respect, excellent sources are at our disposal, sources which throw light on this new phase of the dissemination of Christianity among the Arab tribes. The biography of Šem'ōn 'Estōnāyā, written by Antonios, paints very impressive pictures about the Arabs who were attracted to his column in order there to pour out their pain and sorrow and to secure the prayers and blessings of the saint³. His vita in Syriac

¹ *Historia eccl.* VI, 38, ed MIGNE, col. 1413.

² *Historia eccl.* IV, 36. Cf. DUCHESNE, «Les missions chrétiennes au sud de l'empire Romain», p. 112ff.

³ *Vita Symeonis*, ed. LIETZMANN, p. 56f.

² *Ibid.*

³ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*.

Finally, monks living in the monasteries did have their full share in the process of dissemination of Christian practices and beliefs and carried it out. Even the monastic centers attracted the Arabs. They received the hospitality of the monasteries¹⁴. They gathered at the gates to get something to eat and drink and in this way came into closer contact with the monks.

Thus did Syrian monasticism, in manifold ways, become actively involved in the process of the dissemination of Christian practices and beliefs and in the movement of evangelization. Thus was the spread of Christianity fostered through known and unknown ascetics so that it reached Arabs individually and, often enough, as a result of the conversion of their chieftains, whole tribes who then accepted the Christian faith and were baptized. Thus Christianity spread in uncontrollable ways among the Arab tribes, contributing gradually to the formation of Arab Christianity¹⁵.

There is still another powerful factor in the dissemination of Christianity, namely, the cult of Sargīs about which more will be said later¹⁶.

Missionary preaching also can be deduced from the thoughtworld of the ascetic missionaries. The general assumption that such proclamation must have circled around such themes as the grave, death and catastrophes¹⁷ moves in the right direction. Indeed, that these were the motives which impressed the Arab tribes is to be seen in the echoes which appear in their poets.

It is difficult to assess the results of all these efforts undertaken with such great zeal and devotion. There are reasons to believe that the results lagged well behind all these selfless actions. While it is possible to reckon with the impact of this missionary work on tribes and clans which had become Arameanized settlers and dwellers, the effect upon nomadic and semi-nomadic Arab groups in general must have remained skin deep, touching them only in passing and not changing much in their traditions with regard to the supernatural world.

We can, in the same way, say something about the character of the piety which was instilled into the new converts. The ascetic piety of the

¹⁴ VÖÖBUS, *Einiges über die karitative Tätigkeit des syrischen Mönchtums*, p. 17ff.

¹⁵ About Christendom among the Arabs, see also NAU, *Les arabes chrétiens de Mésopotamie*, CHARLES, *Le christianisme des arabes nomades*, and TRIMINGHAM, *Christianity Among the Arabs*, p. 86ff.

¹⁶ See page 236f.

¹⁷ WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 233f.

monks and anchorites became an example also for the converted Arabs; they tried to imitate these ascetic heroes. One may assume that the Arabs in Ḥiğāz were under the Christian influence, without however becoming Christians in the full sense; they devoted themselves to asceticism and during certain periods of time went to remote mountain areas for meditation¹⁸. The same may be assumed of Christians among the Arab nomads and semi-nomads who tried to imitate ascetic piety. The example of the anchorites and monks remained decisive for their piety. It was always the Christian praxis which counted in the first place — the theological penetration and founding of this praxis came later and developed slowly. Thus did practical piety stand in the foreground for Arab Christians. Being without literature as they were, it was natural that the theological questions which did arise were related to Christian praxis.

This confrontation with Christian life and belief, however, met with more than the example of admired ascetics and devoted missionaries. This confrontation involved engagement with a superior culture. Converted Arab spiritual leaders and clerics turned to the study of Syriac as the key to the wisdom of the church, inasmuch as Syriac remained the language of their church. To be sure, one can speak in this respect only on the smallest beginnings, of initial steps leading to very limited¹⁹. translation activities for liturgical purposes²⁰. The Arab Christians were not able to create centers for their own spiritual and intellectual life to any greater extent. The lacking of such centers and particularly the lack of an indigenous version of the scriptural books became tragic.

Given such insights and such preparation, our inquiry can move on to treat the situation in the several particular regions.

2. ARAB TRIBES IN THE PROVINCIA ARABIA

The Arab tribes were not confined only to the Arabian peninsula; there were geographically large territories which were inhabited by Arab tribes outside of the peninsula. The closest such territory of the peninsula

¹⁸ HUART, *Histoire des Arabes* I, p. 102.

¹⁹ Perhaps just some fragmentary pieces with the text of the Psalter or the Gospels were made available in Arabic.

²⁰ About the problems of the origin of the primitive versions in Arabic, see VÖÖBUS, *Early Versions of the NT*, p. 276ff.

was the Roman province of Arabia¹ which included the regions of Belqā, Batanea, Ḥaurān and Ledja. The capital of the province was Boṣra on the southwestern slope of the mountain area of Ḥaurān.

The situation in the earliest time is enshrouded in darkness². At the beginning of the fourth century the great masses of the population were not yet touched by the Christian message, keeping to the official cults or local syncretistic movements as is abundantly demonstrated in rich epigraphic³ evidence. Only after Constantinos did Christianity slowly begin to gain ground. As Christianity gained in strength, the province of Arabia began to play a greater role within Christendom. In time, it became a metropolitanate with several suffragans⁴. At Chalcedon⁵, the assignments of this ecclesiastical province to the patriarchate of Antioch was fixed⁶. The ecclesiastical province of Arabia in the *Notitia Antiochena*⁷, a very precious church historical document⁸, appears in the sixth place. The growth of the church continued and the ruins of the churches in towns and villages, as well as epigraphical materials, testify to the strength of the church that once flourished there⁹.

While the population in the towns was of Greek and Syrian origin, the country was inhabited by Arab tribes. While among nomadic Arabs, there was a constant restlessness and change as well as the regrouping of tribal units, semi-nomads and pastoral agriculturists did not live in villages but dwelt in settlements where their life was organized along lines of their own tribal traditions and customs. Besides these sedentary Arabs, there were in the province of Arabia and still more outside, many nomad Arab tribes known to Greek authors as Σαρακηνοί, Saracens,

¹ BRÜNNOW - VON DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Provincia Arabia* I-III.

² It has been assumed that Jewish Christians made their proselytes from the Arab people in this area, HARNACK, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* II, p. 152ff.

³ WADDINGTON, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*; EWING, *Greek and Other Inscriptions Collected in the Hauran*, p. 41ff., 131ff., 265ff., and 346ff.; DUSSAUD, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie*; PRENTICE, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*.

⁴ DEVREESSE, «Le christianisme dans la province d'Arabie», p. 110ff.

⁵ This was decided against the attempts of Juvenal of Jerusalem who tried to extend his jurisdiction towards to the north.

⁶ DEVREESSE, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche*, p. 215f.

⁷ Ἑλληνικὸς φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, éd. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS XVIII, p. 65ff. VAILHÉ, «Une 'Notitia episcopatum' d'Antioche», p. 139ff.; GELZER, «Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümer-Verzeichnisse», p. 225ff.; NAU, «Les suffragants d'Antioche», p. 209ff.

⁸ VÖÖBUS, «Neue Urkunden zur 'Notitia Antiochena'», p. 422ff.

⁹ DEVREESSE, «Christianisme dans la province d'Arabie», p. 121ff.

living in groups under their chieftains. The missionary efforts among Arab tribes which were in process came from monastic forces which steadily increased their strength. This development which we are allowed to trace puts us before an amazing phenomenon.

Among the monasteries in the province of Arabia there are those which repeatedly appear on the scene of events in the history of the Christian Arabs in Syria.

Information on the oldest monasteries founded in this area is very sporadic. It seems that these monastic centers at first were small, if Hit, north of Ṣaqqa (Maximianopolis) can serve as an example. According to an inscription in the year 354, it had a sanctuary dedicated to Sargīs which was tended by an abbot and a deacon¹⁰. In the fifth century, a monastery was erected in Ṣaqqa (Maximianopolis) and it is the most ancient example of monastic architecture in the entire land of Ḥaurān¹¹. Deir el-Djoukh, located between Melah es-Sarrar and Imtān must also be mentioned, given the evidence of an inscription written in the year 458¹². One of these monasteries was dedicated to the memory of Sargīs, namely Deir el-Qadi, located west of Suweida¹³. There must have been other ancient monasteries which have left no trace in epigraphic sources. Gradually more and more monasteries were founded which functioned as Christian fulcrums. These also became centers of charitable work provisioning the Bedouins with water and food and other assistance to meet bodily needs.

That there must have been a real momentum to lay new foundations, yes, even a kind of race to plant new monastic centers, for this there is telling evidence. Indeed, it is very surprising. It is found in a document which hangs together with an action undertaken by Ja'qōb Būrde'ānā. Sometime after the organization of the Monophysite communities in Syria, a division arose, one which required Ja'qōb to use drastic means¹⁴. He also notified the abbots in the «monasteries of Arabia», i.e. the region of Arab tribes and groups of nomads, about his action. We are fortunate to possess the reaction of these abbots in a document¹⁵

¹⁰ WADDINGTON, *Inscriptions grecques*, nr. 2124.

¹¹ VOGÜÉ, *Syrie centrale, architecture civile et religieuse*, p. 58.

¹² DUSSAUD, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie*, nr. 82.

¹³ WADDINGTON, *Inscriptions grecques*, nr. 2412.

¹⁴ He excommunicated Conon and Eugenios who were accused of tritheism. Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,602; WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 709ff.

¹⁵ *Documenta et origines monophysitarum*, ed. CHABOT.

composed by the abbots of Arabia written about the year 570. This document was signed by 137 persons from different monasteries. These subscriptions reveal the existence of so many monasteries¹⁶. This impressive list gives its own testimony to the momentum which had swept throughout the province of Arabia. All kinds of new monastic establishments had been founded. Among these there was even a monastery of stylites located in Kafr Nasidj near Aqraba¹⁷. Thus, at about 570, the whole Damascene region, from Tedmor to Yarmuk, was peopled by monks!

However, the ecclesiastical organization of the new converts among the Arab tribes did not keep pace with the missionary development. At the council of Chalcedon in 451, among the seventeen bishops present¹⁸, no Arab bishop is mentioned, while among the bishops from Osrhoene and Phoenicia II (Lebanon), prelates characterized as officials of the people of the Saracens appear¹⁹. Thus, at that time, the forming of the hierarchy among the Arab tribes was still at a preparatory stage. Further, as time went on, the situation in this respect did not advance. In this regard, the conditions remained behind that which took place on the western borders. There, due to the influence of the famous monk, Euthymios, in the year 420, an Arab tribe under its chieftain, Aspebet, set up its tents in the vicinity of his cell in Wadi Dabor. The impact of this anchorite, Euthymios²⁰, resulted in conversions²¹, and Euthymios gave to the tribe priest and deacons and a place to build a church. Moreover, the Arab chief, Aspebet, was consecrated bishop of the tent-camp²². Here the *parembole* became an episcopal seat²³, marking the center not of a territorial diocese but of a district whose constituents were on the move.

¹⁶ Cf. LAMY, «Profession de foi adressée par les abbés», p. 117ff.; LAMMENS, «Anciens couvents de l'Auranitide», p. 478ff.; HONIGMANN, «Nordsyrische Klöster in vorarabischer Zeit», p. 15ff.

¹⁷ *Documenta ad origines*, ed. CHABOT, nr. 70.

¹⁸ *Acta conciliorum*, ed. SCHWARTZ, II, 1,3, p. 21f.

¹⁹ ἔθνους Σαρακηνῶν, *Sacr. conciliorum nova collectio*, ed. MANSI VII, p. 122.

²⁰ KYRILLOS VON SKYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. SCHWARTZ, p. 18ff.

²¹ Since Euthymios healed his son Terebon, Aspebet accepted Christian faith and was baptized under the name of Petros; Euthymios gathered a group of the tribe, instructed these people and baptized them.

²² παρεμβολαί.

²³ Petros appears on the council of Ephesus, bearing the title: «bishop of the *parembole*», *Acta conciliorum*, ed. SCHWARTZ I, II, p. 4, nr. 38; I, VII, p. 75, nr. 38.

Regarding this *parembole* arrangement, an interesting document comes from Severos of Antioch. According to it, he invited monks of the Monastery of Mār Ishāq of Gabulā to the consecration of Stephanos as bishop of the camp of Anasarthā²⁴. The way in which this bishopric is described, it must refer to a *parembole* settlement for the nomadic and semi-nomadic Arab tribes.

The ecclesiastical conditions among the Arab tribes and the nomadic Christians in the province of Arabia were only able to advance so far, so long as suitable conditions lasted.

3. AMONG THE GHASSAN ARABS IN SYRIA

Besides the Roman province of Arabia, other large Arab communities existed in the eastern province of the Byzantine empire. The greatest and the most important were those which occupied the Syrian steppes and border districts — the Ghassans (al-Ġassān).

The basic stock of this tribe was originally from South Arabia, from Yemen, which had settled down permanently south of Damascus¹. These Arabs were tributary and were welcomed as the kind of bulwark between the Byzantine state and the increasingly restless Persian neighbor.

The pre-history of the Ghassanide state is not very clear². Only after a longer passage of time does a forceful leader of the tribe appear in the limelight of the history, namely, Jabala, a very belligerent and enterprising Arab chieftain³. He could soon overtake the Arab neighbors and become an ally of Byzantium, receiving an annual subsidy for their military services. In any case, a new epoch began with al-Hārith who has brought recognition and gave importance to his people. In the year 529, al-Hārith IV⁴, who resided in Jābiya, was formally declared by Justinian as phylarch, thus acknowledging him as a «chief of all the Arabs»⁵, and granting the honor of a patricius⁶. For his own people,

²⁴ *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus*, ed. BROOKS I, p. 102.

¹ About the geographical aspects, see LAMMENS, «L'ancienne frontière entre la Syrie et le Hiğāz», p. 295ff.

² NOLDEKE, *Die Ghasanischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's*, p. 19ff. Of the travelings of the Ghassan tribe, it is known that under the leadership of Jafna it had arrived in the western region of the Syrian desert around the years 300.

³ THEOPHANOS, *Chronographia*, ed. DE BOOR I, p. 141ff.

⁴ Ἀρέθας τοῦ Γαβάλα, 529-569.

⁵ PROCOPIOS, *De bello Persico* I, XVII, 47-48.

⁶ SOCRATES, *Historia eccl.* VII, 18.

this title must have meant much more. This honor, in the eyes of his own people, meant kinship and the Orientals celebrated him as «malik-basileus». He succeeded in subjugating the smaller Arab chieftains under his dominion and to form a united Arab state on the Syrian frontier. He also brought the nomads under his jurisdiction. This vassal state, under the administration of Byzantium, constituted a very welcome buffer for the empire on this dangerous terrain.

Al-Hārith's jurisdiction reached from the Euphrates in the north up to the vicinity of Petra in the south, embracing also the nomads in the province of Arabia, gravitating in the north around Damascus and Palmyra. However, one cannot speak strictly of the geographical boundaries of the state of the Ghassans; one must rather take account of the boundaries of the tribes. The seat of their kings was not in a capital in the ordinary sense but in a changing *hīrtā*⁷ namely the main military camp of the tribe.

Over a period of time, the Christian mission infiltrated the tribe along ways already described, through anchorites, traveling monks and the impact of the stylites.

Another important factor must be added here. One of the manifestations of religious life in these areas which has left many tangible traces behind is the cult of Sargīs (Sergios). The name of Sargīs had a particular ring in the ears of the Arabs. The influence of this cult and the impact of its sanctuaries on the nomads or semi-nomads in these regions has been an important factor in contributing to the dissemination of Christian practices and beliefs. The most famous sanctuary of Sargīs was located in Ruṣāfā⁸ (Sergiopolis), a real center of pilgrimage located in a nearly plain desert and at the Euphrates⁹. This center exercised a very great attraction¹⁰ not only upon the Arabs in the region of Damascus but also

⁷ *ḥīrtā*, in Arabic *hira*.

⁸ This is a real network of sanctuaries bearing the name of Sargīs consisting of the churches, monasteries, chapels and prayer houses. The testimony coming from the archaeological sources is very impressive.

⁹ SPANNER-GUYER, *Ruṣāfā*, p. 20ff. The sanctuary was erected at the time of the Emperor Anastasios. The population of the town was modest and practically consisted of the garrison and the communities of monks; its 6 churches were probably in different monasteries. Additional information comes from Procopios. He speaks of an act of mercy which was here undertaken. Owing to the fame of this sanctuary, an abundance of material means could be collected in order to redeem the inhabitants of nearby Sura who were taken prisoners of war by Khosrow; *De bello Persico* II, 5, 29-33; 20, 1-16.

¹⁰ The location was very favorable because of the water and the herds could be kept during the summer in the surrounding of the town.

upon those in Iraq. It was perpetually visited by hands of nomads¹¹, The commemoration day of the dedication of the church of the saint on November 15¹² was not only a very great religious affair and an ecclesiastical festival but the gathering around the tomb of this saint at that time also provided the occasions for contacts on political matters, allowing the phylarch to meet the chieftains of the clans and tribes of nomads, to settle quarrels and to make business transactions¹³. Thus in the life of the state of the Ghassans, Ruṣāfā played a very vital role.

That which had taken place gradually and quietly in the dissemination of Christianity developed into a Christian state. Under al-Hārith's rule, Christianity reached a new plateau. Numerous monasteries were erected and others were revitalized. Thus was this area gradually permeated by Christian influence. Before the rise of the Christological controversies, Christianity here had developed into a power which later was able to throw strong support in favor of the Monophysite cause. With such strength behind him, al-Hārith was able independently to enter into ecclesiastical power politics. As a Monophysite Christian, on behalf of the religion of his people, he became the powerful defender of the Syrian Monophysite church in its critical hour¹⁴. Al-Hārith's attitude was one which brought with it far-reaching consequences. His courageous steps¹⁵, historically speaking, constituted an important event. It is thanks to the Ghassans that the Monophysites were able to prevail in their struggle against the Chalcedonian forces. His interference made the founding of the Jacobite Church possible. Thanks to the Ghassans it could also overcome its inner split and develop its life and mission in peace.

Bishop Theodoros, whom al-Hārith secured for his people from Theodora, became bishop for the region of Damascus¹⁶. He bore the title, bishop of Boṣra¹⁷, the grand center of the Roman Byzantine region, but he did not reside in Boṣra. The bishop was for the Arab tribes and nomadic people and was actually a bishop of *hīrtā*, an encampment.

¹¹ THEOPHYLACT, *Historia*, ed. DE BOOR, p. 189f.

¹² *Synaxaire arabe jacobite*, éd. BASSET III, p. 310f.

¹³ It is quite possible that the «church extra-muros» was really a kind of praetorium used by the Ghassan phylarchs for their audiences, SAUVAGET, «Les Ghassanides et Sergiopolis», p. 115ff.

¹⁴ See page 217ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Lives of Eastern Saints*, ed. BROOKS XIX, p. 154; MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, éd. CHABOT II, p. 245.

¹⁷ *Lives of Eastern Saints XIX*, p. 238.

Several of these *hīrtā* encampments are known. One was Deir Sikkā¹⁸, the Ghassanian fortification which has given its name to the monastery of the «White Tower»¹⁹. Another encampment was Darayā²⁰, then the famous Jābyal²¹ and the residence of Jāsim²². Then there were two others of whom Yāqūt speaks: 'Aqrabat al-Jagdūr, and Deir al-Qall near Yarmuk²³. These were the main encampments²⁴, centers for dissemination through preaching by the bishop or the monk, as military chaplain at the court of the phylarch. These were also places to which the mission-minded monks directed their steps to give their assistance.

According to Jōhannān of Ephesus, the jurisdiction of this bishop extended «to all the southern countries (i.e. south of Edessa) and western (i.e. west of Tigris) to the entire desert, Arabia and Palestine, up to Jerusalem»²⁵. In view of his enormous task, he needed assistance from a troupe of helpers and there was no scarcity of the monks ready and prepared to render their assistance. Boşra and Ümm el-Ğimāl, south of Boşra, became important centers of Syrian Arab Christianity.

In the Ghassan realm, a very lively ecclesiastical activity was developed. Here many churches and monasteries were founded. One emerges in the realm of epigraphic materials and as such it can be especially singled out. It is the monastery with the tower at Qaṣr al-Ḥair al-Gharbi. The inscription testifies to the fact that it was erected by Ḥārith himself. Even the year of its construction has been given, namely, in 559²⁶.

Al-Ḥārith continued to protect his Monophysite church. His concern and efforts are reflected in the discussions²⁷ which he conducted with the orthodox bishops defending his cause²⁸.

From a note in a colophon of a Syriac manuscript we learn that under al-Mundhir's brothers there were also adherents of the creed of Chalcedon²⁹. This seems to point to a group of orthodox Christians in the state of the Ghassans. It must certainly have been very small.

¹⁸ NÖLDEKE, «Zur Topographie und Geschichte des damascenischen Gebietes», p. 425.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 426.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 427, 430.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 428, 430.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 437; cf. BRÜNNOW - VON DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Provincia Arabia* III, 200.

²⁴ CHARLES, *Le christianisme des arabes nomades sur le limes*, p. 68f.

²⁵ *Lives of Eastern Saints*, p. 238.

²⁶ SCHLUMBERGER, «Les fouilles de Qaṣr el-Ḥair el-Gharbi», p. 366ff.

²⁷ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, éd. CHABOT II, p. 247f.

²⁸ He did not spare even a trip to Constantinople in the year 563 to defend his cause there.

²⁹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,559, fol. 107f., WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 468.

With respect to Syria we are better informed about the settlement of Arab tribes in the Qennešrīn region. Here the Arab settlement belonged to Christian tribes such as those of Tanūkh, Taghlib and Bahrā'. These tribes and clans contributed steadily to the Arabization of this area³⁰.

When al-Ḥārith closed his eyes after forty years of rule, the Monophysite church was allowed to build its life in peace and it developed considerably.

The same attitude was exhibited by his son, al-Mundhir. He took care of the affairs of his church and vigorously supported it. Under his protection, a synod of the abbots took place which had to deal with dogmatic quarrels; the danger of splitting the church was avoided³¹. However, ecclesiastical conditions in the state remained favorable for only as long as the political role of the Ghassans was able to continue. They came to an end under al-Mundhir³² and brought with it confusion and chaos³³.

³⁰ YA'QŪBĪ, *Geography*, p. 323f.

³¹ See page 219.

³² The military success of al-Mundhir (569-582) became fatal to him arousing suspicion in Byzantium regarding his loyalty and this led to his downfall; he was arrested and sent into exile.

³³ The same fate struck his son and successor, Nu'man.

VIII. MISSIONARY EXPANSION AMONG THE ARABS WITHIN THE SYRIAN ORIENT

1. AMONG THE ARAB TRIBES IN PERSIA

a. Šem'ōn of Bēt Aršam

The introduction of the Monophysite version of Christianity in Hīra hangs together with the monk Šēm'ōn, a Persian by birth, who has become a very extraordinary figure in the annals of Syrian Christianity.

Jōhannān of Ephesus has devoted a chapter to Šēm^cōn¹. Taking into account the fact of his acquaintance with Šēm^cōn and also of the fact that he was in possession of his papers² and that he even had certain other advantages³, one would have expected rather more from a vita on this personality than very general statements and comments filled out with a series of inflated episodes.

Jōhannān of Ephesus calls Šēm'ōn: «The brave warrior on behalf of the true faith»⁴ — a term well chosen which adequately characterizes his whole life's work. The scope of his efforts and activities is very impressive and developed in several directions.

First of all, he has gone into history as an evangelist inspired by a fiery zeal and enthusiasm as well as a deep devotion to the propagation of the Monophysite faith. His missionary enterprises were carried out with unusual vigor, extraordinary agility and an admirable mobility. His evangelistic efforts were all the more effective through his use of his gift in learning languages, something which aroused admiration⁵. With regard to his evangelistic ministry, the *vita* compares Šem'ōn, in terms of the intensity and extent, with the apostolate of Paul⁶. The scope of Šem'ōn's apostolate impressed the author of his *vita* as something like a «Paulus redivivus». The dynamic of Šem'ōn's evangelistic work is described in

¹ «Life of Simeon the Bishop», in: *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. BROOKS, p. 137ff.

² He claims that he inherited some of Šem'ôn's papers which came into his possession, *ibid.*, p. 158.

³ His presbyter, Polos, lived with him for two years, *ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴ *Ḥabiriz Ḥabirizum ulu Ḥḡḡḡ Ḥḡḡḡḡ*, *ibid.*, p. 137⁴⁻⁵.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

the following way: «And for this reason he was sedulous in going out among the countries, as far as the camp of the Saracenes of the tribe of Nu'man, which he often visited, so that he gained a large number of Saracenes in it»⁷. Furthermore, as a result of his missionary efforts, he was able to organize and place them on a solid foundation: «And he induced the magnates who were converted by his words to build a Christian church in it»⁸.

b. Šem'ōn's Apostolate

His elevation to the episcopal seat of Aršam did not diminish his evangelistic zeal. Soon after his consecration we see him again on his missionary tours. Unfortunately, as we have already observed, his vita on the most important matters brings only very general statements forward: «And so he would go about in the interior countries beyond the Persians and make disciples, and convert men from paganism and Magism, and return again to the same country»¹. His vita very briefly refers to his successful evangelistic efforts among heretics² with whom he had continual arguments, debates and disputations. Apparently the vita is intended to refer to the heresies of Mani, Marcion and Bar Daišan³. He even enjoyed a certain success among communities devoted to Magism⁴. These toils and labors are summarized in another summary statement: «But this blessed man continued to go out among the countries without ceasing, to warn and make disciples and converts; and accordingly his fame went out over the whole land, and not only that of the Persians but also that of the Romans»⁵.

His extraordinary will and inexhaustible energy is revealed in another

7. *ibid.*, 10-12. p. 140.

⁸ ճշգրիտ կամ անճշգրիտ, *ibid.*,
p. 140₁₂₋₁₃.

¹ നൂറാണ്ടികൾ കൂടാതെ .നരത നാലുപേർ ചേർന്നു ചെറിയ കോട്ടയ്ക്കായി കോട്ടയ്ക്കായി നൂറാണ്ടികൾ ചേർന്നു .ചെറിയ കോട്ടയ്ക്കായി .നരത നൂറാണ്ടികൾ ചേർന്നു ചേർന്നു നൂറാണ്ടികൾ ചേർന്നു നൂറാണ്ടികൾ ചേർന്നു നൂറാണ്ടികൾ ചേർന്നു *ibid.*, p. 152₈₋₁₀.

² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 138f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141. Among his converts were three nobles who died as martyrs, *ibid.*, p. 141.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 141 f.

period in his life, one which developed into a very lengthy missionary tour. This enterprise of colossal range lasted seven years. It took place after he was released from a long imprisonment. In this connection, some additional remarks are made, statements which supplement the otherwise scanty comments offered by the author of the vita. We are told in this connection that Šem'ōn undertook an evangelistic enterprise in many countries to the east, north and south. Then we are allowed an interesting glimpse of this charismatic man on his evangelistic tour: «For, whatever people's country he entered, on the third day that came (after), he would speak with them in their own tongue, thanking the God who had visited him; and thus also he even delivered an exposition⁶ in the chancel⁷ of the churches of all the peoples to whom he went»⁸.

In connection with his missionary tours, it should not remain unnoticed that Šem'ōn conducted extensive correspondence⁹. Apparently he kept the communication lines open with persons and communities with whom he had made contact.

It is a matter of regret that his vita has been drawn up so hastily, leaving out all manner of facts in which we are more interested than those of which there is record. However, these scanty notes and comments leave us with the impression that his last and longest tour had to do with a broadening of the horizon with looking for new areas where his church could live unhindered and develop its life peacefully. That would be quite understandable for the man of broad vision, but this man saw in what distressing situation of lost hope Monophysitism was in Byzantium and that the situation of his church in Persia also was insecure. He would have been the sort of person who would have identified the need for new territories to provide for the peaceful existence and for the expansion of his faithful community. He must have realized that such territories were to be found outside the Byzantine and Persian empires, namely, in Ethiopia and Arabia.

c. *Wider Dimensions*

This leads to another dimension in the apostolate of this «brave warrior». It has to do with the fact that the communities of his church in

⁶ *ܡܬܝܬܐ*, or: «homily».

⁷ *βήμα*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁹ See page 244.

Persia found themselves in difficult conditions, being surrounded by a number of inimical groups led by the Nestorians. The undertaking of joint action against the Monophysites by those groups was unpredictable yet inevitable. In that context, controversy and wrestling with the adversaries was bound to occur; indeed, the vita leaves the impression that these conflicts were endless. Such circumstances compelled Šem'ōn to refine his skills and to steel his energies both for the propagation of the Monophysite faith in the Sassanian east and also for its defence. Šem'ōn became the spokesman in all these heated conflicts, debates and disputations. The vita therefore calls him as the «Persian disputant» and eulogizes him as the one whose skills, energy and zeal even surpassed the ancient church fathers¹. With regard to such confrontations, Šem'ōn developed his own procedures. He insisted that such debates had to occur before an audience and he demanded the use of umpires whose responsibility it was to follow the discussions and to pass judgement². By employing this pattern, Šem'ōn was determined to extract the maximum from these debates which he directed so skillfully. He often asked the Magians to participate in such functions. His expertness and skill earned him fame as the «Persian debater»³. He was feared and eventually hated by his opponents. There were times when he had to hide himself from those who wanted to get rid of him.

His vita has included a lengthy report about a debate⁴ with the Nestorian Catholicos Bābai⁵ and his bishops. Here Šem'ōn achieved a major victory. At the beginning of this disputation, things became rather dangerous because the Nestorian dignitaries leveled accusations against the Monophysites to the effect that they were enemies of the state who conveyed the secrets of the kingdom to the Byzantines. However, the marzban who had been asked to be a judge is reported to have salvaged the situation. He told the catholicos that this could not be put before him; it was a matter that the authorities of the state were able to investigate and upon which they could take action. The lengthy theological discussion was led by Šem'ōn so skillfully that he impressed the Persian governor; the entire affair ended badly for the Nestorians who

¹ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 138.

² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³ *ܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*, *ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145ff.

⁵ Bābai ruled from 499 til 504.

the Ghassan Syria¹⁵, in Byzantium¹⁶ and in Arabia¹⁷. His ecclesiastical policy was consistently prosecuted on the highest levels.

The problems and difficulties facing him steadily became more serious. The last decades of his life fell into a time of trials and storms. The situation in which his persecuted church found itself gave him no peace. Hardly out of prison, he moves immediately to resume his travelling, covering a vast area¹⁸. His journeys during these years must have led him to many rulers and dignitaries. His return after seven years¹⁹ allowed him no respite. New alarming news compelled him to undertake a new journey. His *vita* fails to tell about the real reasons for the new undertaking; however, circumstances point to a worsening of the situation of the Monophysites in Syria which developed into a new wave of persecutions excited by Ephraem²⁰, the patriarch of Antioch. Fortunately, he could reckon with the understanding and help of Empress Theodora; in Constantinople, she saw to his care. Certainly she also received new stimuli from him for the important actions which stood on the horizon²¹.

Here the evening of all his days descended on the «brave warrior», bringing his countless journeys to an end. His *vita* fails to give the time of his death. Apart from that, the year of his death by any other reckoning also is not clear. All that is certain is this, that it must fall before the year 548²².

2. AḤÜDEMMEH

a. *Aḥüdemmeḥ's Mission Field*

Since Aḥüdemmeḥ's mission field in Mesopotamia was most colorful, it is necessary to take a glimpse of the population in this region.

¹⁵ Jabala. A new letter which has emerged, shows him at the military camp in Gbita, from where he wrote this letter. Probably he visited also al-Ḥārith.

¹⁶ Anastasios, Justin, Justinian and Theodora.

¹⁷ Probably the king of the Himyarites and other rulers in Arabia.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 154f.

¹⁹ We are told in the *vita* that at that time the king of Persia had died. Kawad died in September 531.

²⁰ See page 215.

²¹ See page 217.

²² Brooks reckons with the year 540 as the year of Šem'ōn's death. *Ibid.*, p. 157. In any case, his death must have taken place before 548, the year when Theodora died.

The region around Nisibis became one of the most densely concentrated areas for Arab tribes. Under Sassanian rule the entire region became known as Bēt 'Arabāyē due to the very strong Arab ethnic component which dominated the scene. Baršaumā's letter written to Aqāq is of special interest in this connection. In this document a very vivid insight is given into the actual ethnic conditions in this borderland region, and that in a way which leaves nothing to be desired in concreteness. Baršaumā describes the emergency situation caused by an influx of Arab tribes from the south, a situation which caused a real infestation of the plains and villages by Arab tribes, clans and tribal groupings¹.

In order to have an insight into the situation the most important tribes and clans must be introduced.

An outstanding tribe in Mesopotamia was that of the Taghlib. In comparison with other Arab tribes it was a newcomer². Originally these Arabs were nomads in Nağd, Hiğāz and Tihāma. Gradually they had moved into Mesopotamia³. They settled down in the region of Nisibis and Šiggār reaching up to the Tigris near Takrīt. The area which they expanded covered the region from 'Anā at the Euphrates and Takrīt at the Tigris in the south, up to Circesium in the north. Partly they invaded regions beyond the Tigris.

This tribe has the honor to have retained loyalty to the Christian faith longer than any of the Arab tribes⁴.

The Bakr tribe was a brother- and neighbor tribe of the Taghlib⁵ which had set up its tents in Northern Mesopotamia. Finally they settled down in a region which is called after the name of the tribe: Diyarbakr.

Associated with the Taghlib was the Namir ibn Qāsiṭ tribe, which was the southern neighbor along the right bank of the Euphrates. 'Anā was the most important center in their region⁶.

The Iyād ibn Nizār, a large tribal grouping, occupied first the desert regions in the lower course of the Euphrates. The tribe was able to contribute to the settled population in the villages and towns along the

¹ *Synodicon orientale*, ed. CHABOT, p. 532f.

² The arrival of the first contingents must have taken place about the year 480.

³ A splinter of the tribe remained on the island of Farasān in the Red Sea. This branch created contacts with Abyssinia, adopted the Christian faith and erected many churches.

⁴ See page 242, 300, 316f.

⁵ The tribe emigrated from Yemen and Tihāma.

⁶ Later on 'Anā appears as the seat of the Monophysite bishop shepherding parts of the Namir but also of the Taghlib and Iyād tribes, *Histoire nestorienne* II, p. 119.

Euphrates⁷. But later the tribe moved towards the north, crossed the Tigris and reached Takrīt and Mosul.

South-west of the Iyād was the region for the tents of the Taiy tribe⁸. The subgroups of the tribe, originally devoted to paganism, became a fertile ground for Christian propaganda thanks to the evangelistic work which was carried out by Aḥūdemmeḥ.

The Tha'leb tribe, a branch of the Taiy, in particular became receptive to the Christian radiation.

Finally, the tribal groupings in Hīra and its regions must be mentioned.

Hīra, situated in a fertile region near the Euphrates, grew from very modest beginnings. Originally it was a seasonal nomadic settlement which developed into a trading post and finally a town which became a stronghold of the Lakhmid dynasty⁹ and a center of a strong Christian community in which various tribal groups were knit together by the Christian leaven¹⁰ of Nestorian brand¹¹.

b. Aḥūdemmeḥ's Person

A real élan in missionary efforts among the Arabs in Persia is connected with the person and the work of Aḥūdemmeḥ. It is very fortunate that new sources on the biography of Aḥūdemmeḥ have been recovered from the sands of history¹.

He was born at Bālād in Bēt 'Arabāyē². Previously Aḥūdemmeḥ belonged to the Nestorian church³ and it seems that he is the same Aḥūdemmeḥ who was bishop of Nisibis⁴. We must reckon with the possibility that Aḥūdemmeḥ and other bishops whom Jōhannān of

⁷ Later on Anbār became the spiritual center of the tribe.

⁸ Originally the tribe was in Yemen.

⁹ ROTHSTEIN, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden*, p. 69ff.

¹⁰ A certain Na'man appears in the sources connected with Šem'ōn the Stylite; he is characterized as a king of the Arabs in Hīra and the vassal of the Persian king, see page 241.

¹¹ See page 245.

¹ Ms. Mardin Orth. 267 and Ms. 273; see VÖÖBUS, «Entdeckung der neuen handschriftlichen Quellen für die Biographie des Aḥūdemmeḥ».

² A territory in Mesopotamia between Tellā, Nisibis, the mountain region of Šiggār and Bālād.

³ SCHER, «Étude supplémentaire», p. 11f. disputes the identity.

⁴ The name of Aḥūdemmeḥ appears among the signatures given to the synodical acts of the Nestorian church under Catholicos Joseph in 554, *Synodicon orientale*, éd CHABOT, p. 109.

Ephesus calls «orthodox» were the dissidents who for personal as well as doctrinal reasons raised by Henānā of Adiabene and Saḥdōnā stood in opposition to the hierarchy of the Nestorian church⁵.

His vita tells that when he turned to the Monophysite faith he left his family and the world⁶. When Ja'qōb Būrde'ānā extended his work of upbuilding his church to his fellow believers in Persia, he elevated Aḥūdemmeḥ to the dignity of «metropolitan of the East»⁷, a step which laid the foundation for the future Monophysite maphrianate in Persia⁸. It is reported that the elevation took place in the year 558/59⁹. Jōhannān of Ephesus, in his church history, speaks of Aḥūdemmeḥ as chief of the Monophysite church in Persia¹⁰.

Aḥūdemmeḥ chose Takrīt as the headquarters for his missionary enterprise; it became a hotbed of activity.

For his extraordinary efforts in the mission field, Aḥūdemmeḥ earned the honor of apostle of the Arabs in Mesopotamia. It testifies to his burning desire to evangelize the Arabs living between the Tigris and the Euphrates, Arabs who were nomads and semi-nomads and who lived in tents and were still barbarians, savage in their manners and who worshiped idols¹¹. His vita does not make any secret of the fact that the beginnings of his missionary efforts among these tribes were difficult and the results slow to come. However, his devotion, self-sacrifice and perseverance paid off. It is reported that Aḥūdemmeḥ at first had some initial success in his missionary efforts. However, a setback took place when the Arab tribes realized that he wanted to demolish sacred stones on which their indigenous traditions and cultic practices rested; they became so antagonistic that they did not permit him to enter their camps any longer and he had to suffer want and hunger. only by way of a miraculous healing of a daughter of a sheikh was the situation salvaged and the gates to the camps and to the hearts of the Arabs open to him and then warmly welcomed him.

⁵ According to the west Syrian tradition, Aḥūdemmeḥ was consecrated as bishop of Bēt 'Arabāyē by the Catholicos Christophoros I (538/9-544/5) of the Armenian Church. Such an intervention into the affairs of the Nestorian church appears very probable, taking into account the confused situation in its internal affairs.

⁶ *Histoire d'Ahoudeemeh*, éd. NAU, p. 20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁸ Jōhannān of Ephesus calls Aḥūdemmeḥ «catholicos of the orthodox» introducing this title of dignity for the first time.

⁹ In the year 870 A. Gr., BAR 'EBRĀYĀ *Chronicon eccl.* II, col. 99f.

¹⁰ *Iohannis Ephesini Historia eccl.*, VI, 20.

¹¹ *Histoire*, éd. NAU, p. 21.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 21f.

out by itinerant Monophysite monks living and working in exile was perpetuated as they were compelled to use such provisions¹⁷.

Aḥūdemmeh's resources and energy also sufficed for a vigorous defence of his church. That he was a gifted person, prolific also in literary activities¹⁸ which covered quite a wide range from theology to philosophy¹⁹ and also included other subjects²⁰, added lustre to his stature as a defender of his church. In a disputation with the Nestorians in the presence of Khosrow he very energetically defended his people²¹. Regardless of the accusations raised by the Nestorians, the Monophysites so impressed the king that afterwards they were able to live their life unmolested²².

Aḥūdemmeh's efforts proved to be fruitful according to all the indications in the sources. The Arab sources mention many monasteries which were erected particularly in the Taghlib region²³.

His vita does not tell us about the results of his missionary efforts among the Magians. They must have been very limited. However, we are told that he converted a son of Khosrow and baptized him in the Monastery of Apamria, giving him the new name, Gīwargīs²⁴.

This conversion was fatal for Aḥūdemmeh. On the order of the king, he was arrested and imprisoned. After languishing two years in the prison, he was killed on August 2, 575²⁵.

3. MARŪTĀ OF TAGRĪT

a. His Previous Activities

Missionary work and evangelization was carried out by another very eminent and energetic monk. His name was Marūtā. On his activity, we have a source at our disposal which gives us important insights into his extended missionary enterprise. This source was composed by Denḥā,

¹⁷ See page 215.

¹⁸ 'ABDIŠO', *Catalogus librorum*, ed. ASSEMANI, p. 192. This list includes several works on philosophical and theological themes, and a work against the Magians.

¹⁹ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 178.

²⁰ His treatise under the title «Composition of man» has survived: *Traité sur l'Homme*, éd. NAU, p. 97ff.

²¹ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, éd. CHABOT II, p. 251, 339.

²² *Iohannis Ephesini Historia eccl.*, I, VI, 20.

²³ YAQUT, *Mu'jam al buldān* II, p. 640ff.; BAKRĪ, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, p. 359ff.

²⁴ *Histoire*, éd. NAU, p. 33f.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Marūtā's successor. It is a work which bears the title: «The History of the Godly Life of the holy Mār Marūtā, the Venerable»¹.

Marūtā came from Šūrzaq, near Balad, in Bēt Nuhadrā². His parents gave him to the Monastery of Mār Šemuel Tūrāyā, located on the left bank of the Tigris on a mount not far from the village, to be educated there. We are told that he later continued to live at the Monastery of Mardas — here he became a monk and here he also was consecrated to the priesthood³. Of the Monastery of Mardas, Denḥā reports that it was the most celebrated monastic community in the region, excelling all the rest because of the rigorous asceticism practiced in it⁴. Here, too, Marūtā devoted himself to his studies and over a long period of time he grew into the sources of knowledge and learning. It was his desire to become a learned person; in this he was successful and was appointed «a master, doctor and interpreter of the sacred books». In addition to this, his other talents and gifts became more and more evident. He rose to a position akin to that of an auxiliary to the bishop of the land, Mār Zaki, who also lived in this monastery⁵.

After this long period in the Monastery of Mardas, Marūtā wanted to continue his studies and to deepen them at centers of learning in Byzantine territory, taking advantage of the political constellation which existed at the time of Khosrow and Mauricios. First he stayed at the Monastery of Mār Zaki, an outstanding center of learning⁶. Then he moved to the mountains of Edessa⁷. Nor were they to be the last place in western Mesopotamia where he wished to study⁸.

Finally, upon his return to Persia, he settled down in the Monastery of Mār Mattai, an event which seems to have taken place around the year 605. At this ancient monastery, he was given a teaching assignment in theology and exegesis, thus to contribute to the reputation of the

¹ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, *Histoire de Marouta*, éd. NAU. See also Ms. Mardin Orth. 273, p. 531-574.

² In the vicinity of Nineve.

³ BAR 'EBRAYA, *Chronicon eccl.*, ed. ABBELOOS-LAMI II, col. 111.

⁴ *Histoire de Marouta*, p. 66f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁶ The monastery was located near Qalliniqos where he is reported to have spent 10 years, *ibid.*, p. 70. This would have been approximately from 593 to 603. BAR 'EBRAYA speaks of a 20 years stay in this monastery, *Chronicon eccl.*, II, col. 111.

⁷ He lived in the cells located around Edessa. Here he joined a monk who was a scribe and from whom he learned the art of calligraphy. He acquired this art, as the writings left by Marūtā testify, according to a statement made by Denḥā.

⁸ From there he went to the Monastery of Bēt Reqūm where he stayed for some years.

IX. MISSIONARY EXPANSION OUTSIDE THE SYRIAN ORIENT

1. IMPACT ON MUHAMMAD

That monks and anchorites have left their vestige on Muhammad is shown on the pages of the Quran. Muhammad in the Quran speaks of *rāhib* «monk» or «anchorite»¹. The term means «fearing», from which *rahbāniyyat* «monasticism» is derived². It is significant that the term is selected under the influence of the usage in Syrian language³, since the term «fear of God»⁴ is popular as a term which refers for the life of monks and anchorites. These observations lead us to the question of the relation between Syrian monasticism and Muhammad.

Arab authors are certain in their opinion that Muhammad had become acquainted with Syrian monasticism. It is Islamic tradition that has related Muhammad to Syrian monasticism. A story which circulated among the Arab authors reflects these relations already at early movements in Muhammad's life.

Muhammad was 12 years old when his uncle Abu Talib had to take a caravan to Syria, and so he went along. In Boşra, Syria, there was a monk Bahīrā. Their meeting is told as a happening which carried mysterious overtones. Bahīrā had paid no attention to the caravans which had passed by his cell, but on this occasion, he invited all the caravan people to accept his hospitality — looking in particular for the young Muhammad. This monk realized the future of this boy — between his shoulders he even found the seal of prophecy — so that the acquaintance with a monk was not only friendly but also significant for the future of Muhammad⁵.

This story has been taken by many to be historical. Accordingly,

¹ Sure V, 85; IX, 21, 34.

² Sure LVII, 27.

³ AHRENS, «Christliches im Koran», p. 40. Nöldeke here wanted to see an imitation of the Middle-Persian *tarsāk* «fearing» which was employed for Christians in Persia. However, this term too could be selected under the influence of the Syrian usage.

⁴ *rahbānī*.

⁵ IBN SA'D, I, 1, 99.

Muhammad had early on a first hand impression of Christian customs and the cult.

Such a situation has promoted reflections by Christians and nourished their imaginations about the origin of these relations in order to satisfy the Syrians in this respect.

This has been put down in the well-known Bahīrā legend⁶, traditions about Rabban Sargīs, his entrance to the desert of Yathrib and his contacts with Muhammad, about the instruction he gave him and the prophecies he gave about Muhammad, his person and his followers, and the conquest to the effect that the world shall have peace and tranquility — predictions which have endeared Bahīrā among the Arabs. According to this tradition, it was Sargīs who instilled in Muhammad such a favorable attitude towards the Christians because, and for the sake, of the monks. Sargīs asked Muhammad for his consideration for Christians among whom there are solitaries and monks, devout men «who go out to the wasteland and desert and build habitations and monasteries; they are humble, not haughty or boastful and are fearers of God who keep His commandments»⁷.

According to the Bahīrā legend, the instruction on paradise and the demand for piety, prayer-life and other religious observances and basic ethical teachings, all derive directly from Sargīs.

Nevertheless, just how Muhammad came in contact with the beliefs and preaching of the Christians can no longer be found out⁸. Besides possible personal contacts, we must reckon also with literary sources for his information about the believers and their practices. These channels which remain incutable to us now must have been open to him in many ways.

Let it here be mentioned that this honorable estimate of Christian ascetics had occurred at a much earlier point among the Arabs. One unmistakable sign appears in early Islamic literature where various pious persons have been decorated with the term *rāhib*, a name by which Islamic authors designated Christian monks⁹. This shows what a reverent and honorable estimate monks hold in the eyes of the Arabs.

We feel safer ground under our feet when we look in another direction.

⁶ Consistent searching was able to ferret out new sources: in Ms. Mardin Orth. 259, as nr. 6 in the collection, and Ms. Za'farān, a manuscript in quart size, which has no signature.

⁷ Ms. 10, p. 47. Note from the Editor: Under the circumstances, no evidence about this manuscript could be supplied.

⁸ GRÉGOIRE, «Mahomet et le monophysisme», p. 107ff.

⁹ IBN KHALDUN, *Prolégomènes historiques*, tr. DE SLANE, p. 474.

This has to do with the foundation of Muhammad's message. It is important to observe that his first proclamation is saturated with the idea of judgement and revelation which deals with «threat and judgement». Given this eschatological urgency, it is difficult to think of any virtuosi in this realm other than Syrian monks¹⁰. It is sufficient here to introduce certain personalities in order to give an idea of this phenomenon.

This can hardly be a mere coincidence that the most telling examples come from Syrian monasticism. Mār 'Abbai «possessed a small book of the gospel, and read nothing else than this» that is, those texts which deal with the macarisms or the parable of the virgins or the great banquet — those texts which deal with the «threats and judgement»¹¹.

Tūmā lived in a cave and wept day and night continually repeating: «Life is gone, death is coming, perdition is approaching, the hour of the judgement is at hand»¹².

About another monk, Harpaṭ is reported to have wept and howled as a shakal over his lost life, his sins, the approaching death and the terrible judgement¹³.

The most decisive element in this spirituality was the thought of the world judgement. All the thinking of these saints was permeated by the fear and the anguish of the judgement.

There is reason enough to believe¹⁴ that such a preaching of the monks, heavily laden with the thought of judgement, reached Muhammad and caused a profound disturbance in him, one which still reverberates in his initial message.

It seems that still more can be said not only about the origin of the proclamation but about impulses related to Muhammad's public activities. Certain historical events which must have given the impetus to Muhammad's public activity have been posited earlier. The thought has been brought out that Muhammad received a stimulus for his public appearance by the preaching of an anchorite¹⁵. The argument that monotheism, as tradition would have us believe, was powerful enough to induce his public appearances is not persuasive. For monotheism was not

¹⁰ ANDRAE, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, p. 42ff.

¹¹ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. BROOKS XVII, p. 215.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 193f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 161f.

¹⁴ «Wir werden annehmen können, dass eine solche, hauptsächlich vom Gericht handelnde Predigt eines Einsiedlers die ungeheure Erschütterung in ihm gewirkt hat, die in seinen ersten Verkündigungen nachzittert», AHRENS, «Christliches im Koran», p. 187.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

something new in Arabia; it would not have moved his viscera as thoroughly as the traditions suggest and the Quran hints. The decisive impulse must have come from the preaching of world judgement.

Such reflections on the possibilities move to firmer ground when the character of Muhammad's piety is taken into account. It is filled with vigils, with prayers, and recitations of sacred texts, combined with kneelings and prostrations. This, so rich in all of its manifoldness, is fully represented in the piety of Syrian monasticism¹⁶.

Some features are utterly striking — they point clearly to Syrian monastic virtuosi. Muhammad writes in the Quran that his loyal followers bear the signs of continuous prostrations¹⁷ on their faces. This is a phenomenon — described so vividly in Syrian sources¹⁸ — evidence of the deepest form of monastic piety. They are depicted as the virtuosi of such ways of mortification, having hardened skin on the knees because of continuing prostrations, like those of a camel, and great bumps on the forehead from continuous beating¹⁹. Indeed, Arab poets speak of monks bearing a bump «as a knee of a goat» on the forehead²⁰.

Whatever we may think of these traditions, the reverent attitude in Muhammad's thinking towards the monks is a fact. In the Quran²¹ it is stated that it is just because of the monks that the attitude of the Islam towards Christians was friendlier than that shown the Jews²². Here we do not have to do with an at random statement because it appears²³ at a number of places²⁴.

It would appear Muhammad had a great veneration for the bearers of this monastic piety. The monk, *rāhib*, became the embodiment of the spiritual elite²⁵ and monastic garb was very highly esteemed by Muhammad. This determined also his behavior. This attitude can be illustrated via an episode recorded by an Arab author; it can serve as an instructive illustration. Here we are told that a bishop and school-head

¹⁶ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* II, p. 256ff.

¹⁷ Sure XLVIII, 29.

¹⁸ *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, p. 204f.

¹⁹ VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism* II, p. 291.

²⁰ CHEIKHO, *Schu'ara al-naṣraniyya*, p. 178.

²¹ Sure V, 25.

²² AL-DŽAHIZ, *Risala fi redd en-naṣara*, ed. FINKEL, p. 14.

²³ Sure IX, 113.

²⁴ Sure V, 85.

²⁵ Sure V, 25.

once came to Muhammad to bargain for better conditions. For the audience, they wore expensive garments and mantles covered with silk. They went into the mosque and prayed towards the East. However, Muhammad, at the moment they were ready to talk to him, turned away from them; they were told that this occurred because of the way they were dressed. This they experienced a day later. Having dressed themselves in monastic garb, they reached Muhammad and had the talk about what they desired²⁶. Though all this may be nothing but pure legend, it is true to life.

However, another part of the monks was denounced. This is puzzling. It seems that this refers to those who left their cells and assumed positions as leaders of the communities and bishops²⁷.

The spiritual and ethical power of the Syrian monasticism which has exercised so deep an influence upon Muhammad, was such that it even secured a future for it. According to an Islamic tradition, Muhammad was reported to have had a presentiment about this development and its deeper impact upon Islam, as expressed in his prophecy: when 380 years shall have passed in his community, monasticism, too, would be in Islam and monasteries would be found upon the mountains. This certainly is nothing else than the actual historical development produced under the impact of Syrian monasticism, but for whose sanction the prediction had been put on the lips of Muhammad.

2. SOUTH ARABIA

The beginnings of Christianity in South Arabia¹ are enshrouded in a twilight which often recedes into impenetrable darkness. The earliest reports about the dissemination of Christianity in South Arabia occur in connection with Christianity in Abyssinia² around the middle of the fourth century when Theophilus³ was sent as an envoy to the court of the Himyarites⁴. Over and above his political mission to secure the routes

²⁶ *Die Schreiben Muhammads an die Stämme Arabiens*, tr. SPERBER, p. 88ff.

²⁷ «O ye who believe, many of the *ahbar* and the monks who consume the property of the people in vanity, and turn them from the way of God, those who treasure up gold and silver and do not expend it in the way of God — give them good tidings of terrible punishment», Sure IX, 34.

¹ GUIDI, *L'Arabie antéislamique*, p. 21ff.; DE LACY O'LEARY, *Arabia Before Muhammad*, p. 125ff.; GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* I, p. 20ff.

² See page 261.

³ PHILOSTORGIOS, *Historia eccl.* III, 4-5, ed. BIDEZ, p. 32ff.

⁴ He was sent as an envoy by Emperor Constantius (337-361).

of commerce with the East, Theophilus was eager to spread the Christian faith. He tried to convert the king of the Himyarites but failed because of the machinations of the Jews. However, he did manage to obtain permission to build churches in the capital, Zafar, in Aden, and Hormuzd at the Persian Gulf of Greek businessmen and converts from the natives⁵.

It is even more difficult to recover hints of the earliest contacts between Syrian Christianity, monasticism and South Arabia. An echo of the recollection may be seen in the story as told by Ṭabari⁶ and Ibn Ishāq. This earliest tradition appears in the story of a Syrian named Fimiyyūn (Phemion), a wandering Syrian ascetic who was famous as a charismatic saint whose prayers did miracles; he was coercively taken by the Arabs and transported in a caravan to Naḡrān and there sold into slavery. However, his master realized that his slave was a holy man. As a charismatic saint, he was successful in his evangelization and converted many of the people⁶.

According to one report, the relations with the Monophysite leadership must have reached back into older times. It indicates that there existed an ecclesiastically organized community strong enough to submit a request for a bishop from Emperor Anastasios, the protector of the Monophysites. This request was submitted in the year 513⁷.

The ways in which the Syrians spread their Christian mission⁸ were various. Taking into account economic connections between the Lakhmides and Southwest Arabia, in the first place, Hīra comes into account as the center of the dissemination of the Christian faith towards the southwestern region of the peninsula. In fact, there is a tradition about Christian beginnings emanating from Hīra. This has to do with the introduction of Christianity in Naḡrān. This tradition has kept the remembrance of a certain Hayyan⁹, a well-known businessman who

⁵ Τῶν δὲ ἐκκλησιῶν μίαν μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ μητροπόλει τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους Τάφαρον ὀνομαζομένη καθιδρόσατο· ἑτέραν δὲ ἐν ᾧ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐμπόριον ἐτύχανεν ἔξω πρὸς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν τετραμμένον· καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ χωρίον Ἀδάνην, ἐνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἀφικνουμένους ἔθος ἦν καθορμίζεσθαι· τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἐπὶ θάτερον τῆς χώρας μέρος, ἐν ᾧ Περσικὸν ἐμπόριον γνωρίζεται ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τῆς ἐκεῖσε Περσικῆς κείμενον θαλάσσης, *ibid.*, p. 34.

⁶ ṬABARI, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul*, ed. DE GOEJE I, p. 919ff.; IBN ISHAQ, *Sira*, tr. GUILLAUME, p. 14ff.

⁷ THEODOROS LECTOR, *Historia eccl.*, col. 211ff.

⁸ LAMMENS, «Les chrétiens de la Mecque à la veille de l'hégire», p. 229ff.

⁹ The text reads Hannān but could also be Hayyan, see SACHAU, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien*, p. 68.

made his business trips to Constantinople and Persia during the time of Yazdegerd. On a business trip passing through Hira, he became associated with Christians living there, was converted, baptized and remained there for some time. After he returned to his country, he converted his family and others to his newly won faith. Moreover, he found associates and co-workers who helped him in his evangelistic enterprise to christianize the land of the Himyarites¹⁰. The same narrative in abridged form also appears in the chronicle of Mari¹¹ and a note in the chronicle of Amr¹². Since the business trips of Hayyan took place under Yazdegerd, then the described events must have taken place at the beginning of the fifth century¹³. At that time Naḡrān, south of Mecca, must have emerged as an important center in the development of Christianity in South Arabia. With regard to the same Hayyan, the Book of the Himyarites, though representing a much older source, cannot increase our information, All it offers is the following: «Hayyan the great by whose care Christianity was sown in the town of Naḡrān and in the land of the Himyarites»¹⁴. Unfortunately the chapter which gave an account of his missionary work has been lost.

One can also reckon that the center of the Ghassanid Arabs have contributed to some percolation of Christianity not only in Ḥiḡāz but still deeper in Arabia. There are reasons for thinking that important channels by which knowledge of Christianity was carried into the heart of the Arabian peninsula itself came from the missionaries in the realm of the Ghassanid¹⁵ rulers. In all these missionary efforts, there was competition between the Nestorians and the Monophysites but obviously the Monophysites were in the forefront. Thus also the bishop appointed to Himyar — which must have taken place under Emperor Anastasios¹⁶ — must have been a Monophysite.

The Abyssinian conquest of South Arabia¹⁷ must have had far-reaching consequences for evangelization in the newly-conquered territory. The beginnings of Christianity in South Arabia then began to play a greater role in the sixth century when Himyarite Arabia came under the

¹⁰ *Histoire nestorienne*, éd. SCHER, p. 330.

¹¹ *De patriarchis nest. commentaria*, ed. GISMONDI, p. 33.

¹² *De patriarchis nest. commentaria*, ed. GISMONDI, p. 28.

¹³ He ruled from 399 til 420.

¹⁴ *The Book of the Himyarites*, ed. MOBERG, p. 31.

¹⁵ See page 235ff.

¹⁶ THEODORUS LECTOR, *Historia eccl.*, col. 212.

¹⁷ RYCKMANS, «Le christianisme en Arabie du Sud préislamique», p. 423ff.

dominion of Aksum. In the capital the Abyssinians dominated the religious scene completely. In Ṣafar, a church was erected and the clergy who served there consisted of the Abyssinians¹⁸.

Naḡrān¹⁹, located in the North Yemen and the country bearing the same name, became the center of gravity. Suddenly bright light falls on this center in connection with the persecution of the Christians in Naḡrān which has become the best known event in the history of the South Arabian Christianity. These calamities hang together with the revolt against the Abyssinian rule led by Du-Nuwas, a native of Yemen but a convert to Judaism, which resulted in large-scale massacres of the Christians. The accounts of these grisly deeds²⁰ carried out by the Jews have been made known through a letter written by Šem'ōn of Bēt Aršām²¹, a letter written by Ja'qōb of Serūg²² and the Book of the Himyarites²³. Besides these main sources, also the acts of martyrdom of Hārith²⁴, the chief of the town²⁵, comes into account. A poem²⁶ should also not be overlooked.

The situation created by these large-scale persecutions called for an Abyssinian military intervention²⁷ which restored order in the land²⁸. A new bishop was appointed for South Arabia and his consecration took place in Alexandria²⁹.

All these accounts, however vivid and dramatic, have failed to tell us much about the historical background and the history of these Christian communities. That they were related to the Syrian communities, of this there is nothing more than intimation. That Ja'qōb of Serūg wrote a

¹⁸ *The Book of the Himyarites*, ed. MOBERG, p. 7f.

¹⁹ SPRENGER, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed III*, p. 488f.; ANDRAE, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, p. 10ff.

²⁰ RYCKMANS, *La persécution des chrétiens Himyarites au sixième siècle*, p. 1ff.

²¹ Šem'ōn was on an embassy to Mundhir of Hira when envoys arrived sent from the new ruler who announced his accession. The envoy brought with him an account of the actions taken against the Christians in Himyar by Dū Nuwās, advising Mundhir to do the same in his own country. In the *Book of the Himyarites*, ed. MOBERG, he is introduced as Masruq, king of the Saracens, p. 4ff. *La lettera di Simeone*, ed. GUIDI, p. 1ff.; cf. ZACHARIAS RHETOR, *Historia eccl.* II, ed. BROOKS, p. 60ff.

²² *Epistulae*, ed. OLINDER.

²³ *The Book of the Himyarites*, ed. MOBERG, p. 3ff.

²⁴ *Martyrium Arethae*.

²⁵ NALLINO, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti III*, p. 92ff.

²⁶ By Johannes Psaltes.

²⁷ Du Nuwās fell in the vengeance battle with the Abyssinians in 525.

²⁸ *The Book of the Himyarites*.

²⁹ *Chronique syriaque de Denys de Tell-Mahré*.

The Axumite armed forces returned in the year 525, re-conquered the land and killed the Jewish tyrant, Du Nuwas¹⁹.

The missionaries must have found a grateful mission field among the tribes in Naḡrān. Particularly one tribe called Banu Ḥārith ibn Ka'b stood out later on for its firm stand in Christian testimony. Thus did the church of Naḡrān maintain its life²⁰.

5. IN ETHIOPIA

a. Data About the Beginnings

The earliest phase in the Christianization of Abyssinia lies in impenetrable darkness. There is only a certain hint to the effect that Christian missionaries from Syria were in Abyssinia before the rise of Arianism¹. It is a pity that we know almost nothing about the circumstances. It is interesting to recall here the fact that Philostorgios tells us about an ancient Syrian colony eastward of Aksum². Was this the base of Christian infiltration and missionary enterprise in Abyssinia? That is a question for which we have no answer. Whatever its efforts may have been, according to all indications these must have been ephemeral in character.

The documents which claim to offer information about early church historical development in Abyssinia are themselves beset with complicated problems. Here legend and history have grown together so thoroughly during the course of the centuries that we are often not able to distinguish between fact and fiction. What Rufinus³ and Greek

are characterized in the following way: the presbyters were Roman, Naḡranite, Syrian and Persian, the archdeacons as Roman and deacons as Abyssinian and Naḡranite, *ibid.*, p. XXXII¹⁻¹⁰.

¹⁹ See an inscription found at Mareb which marks the victory over Du Nuwas, in KAMIL, «An Ethiopic Inscription Found at Mareb», p. 56f.; see also DEGEN- MÜLLER-ROLEG, *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* I, p. 59ff.

²⁰ There is a report according to which a delegation of the Christians from Naḡrān appeared in Medina to negotiate terms with Muhammad. This took place in the last years of his life.

¹ GUIDI, «La chiesa abissina», p. 124f.

² Αὔξουμις γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ μητρόπολις. Πρότεροι δὲ τούτων τῶν Αὔξουμιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξωτάτω πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καθήκοντες Ὁκεανὸν παροικοῦσιν οἱ Σύροι, ταύτην τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε φέροντες, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρὰ τούτοις ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἀναστήσας, ἐνταυθοὶ κατόικισεν· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ πατρίᾳ φωνῇ κέχρηται, *Historia eccl.* III, 6, ed. BIDEZ, p. 35.

³ *Historia eccl.* X, 9, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 971ff.

authors on the one hand⁴ and Ethiopian sources on the other offer, exhibits deep gaps at many points, so many that it becomes very difficult on the basis of these sources to achieve a proper orientation.

The first definite historical figure in the Christianization of Abyssinia is Frumentios⁵. Here we have a firmer ground under our feet. An authority no less than Athanasios of Alexandria himself testifies concerning him⁶. His work has also been recorded by Rufinus who gives a detailed report on the arrival and the activity of this young man from Tyr⁷. According to these records, Frumentios was successful⁸ and became the head of the Ethiopic church as Abba Salama⁹. However, this story of an early evangelization of Ethiopia¹⁰ is not without serious problems. Regardless of the obvious accretions of a legendary nature, it seems to have been based on some sort¹¹ of an historical kernel¹². The missionary efforts were crowned by success even within the royal house itself, namely of that of King 'Ezānā¹³ who was converted to the Christian faith¹⁴. Proof of this is found in numismatic¹⁵ and epigraphic¹⁶ sources.

⁴ SOCRATES, *Historia eccl.* I, 19, ed. MIGNE, col. 125ff.; SOZOMENOS, *Historia eccl.* II, 24, ed. MIGNE, col. 996ff.; THEODORETOS, *Historia eccl.* I, 22, ed. MIGNE, col. 969ff.

⁵ His work has been told by Rufinus, who gives a detailed report on the arrival and activity of this young man of Tyre.

⁶ In his apology he mentions that Frumentios was bishop of Axum, *Apologia ad Constantium*, col. 636. This was about the year 356 A. D.

⁷ *Historia eccl.* X, 9, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 971ff.

⁸ After converting the royal household to the Christian faith, he went to Alexandria from where he obtained coworkers for missionary work from Athanasios and was elevated into the episcopacy and consecrated as the head of the church of Ethiopia.

⁹ «The father of peace». About additional traditions regarding Frumentios from Ethiopic sources, see ROSSINI, «A propos des textes éthiopiens concernant Salāmā (Frumentius)», p. 2ff., 17f.

¹⁰ VÖÖBUS, *Die Spuren eines älteren äthiopischen Evangelientextes*, p. 1ff.

¹¹ Philostorgios speaks as if a certain Theophilus was responsible for the conversion of the Axumites in A. D. 356; *Historia eccl.* III, 6, ed. BIDEZ, p. 35.

¹² Rufinus even claims that he had learned these data from the mouth of Aedius himself, who later became a priest in Tyre.

¹³ ULLENDORFF, *The Ethiopians*, p. 54f.; HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopien*, p. 39ff.

¹⁴ His rule has been placed by most scholars to the second and third quarters of the 4th cent. ALTHEIM-STIEHL, «Die Datierung des Königs Ezānā von Axum», p. 234ff. place his rule about a century later.

¹⁵ ANZANI, «Numismatica Axumita», p. 5ff. Cf. ANFRAY, «Les rois d'Axoum d'après la numismatique», p. 1ff.

¹⁶ LITTMANN, «Sabaische, griechische und altabessinische Inschriften», p. 10f., 19, 24, 28, 32ff.; RAHLFS, «Zu den altabessinischen Königsinschriften», p. 282ff. NAUTIN, «Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Ézana», p. 260ff. DORESSE, «Les premiers monuments chrétiens de l'Éthiopie», p. 209ff.

Nevertheless we have reasons to be very cautious and to guard ourselves against undue inference. For despite these positive reports about his success in winning over the royal house, it would be a mistake to see in this a phase of the bright expansion of Christianity. Considerations of a serious nature stand in the way. Nothing is said about the effect of the conversion of the king on his people. Further, nothing is said about a royal decree to the effect that the king had set an example for his people to be subjected to the new faith. Still other indications support the same suspicion. We recall the significant fact that Greek and Latin sources have much less to tell us than we would naturally expect about Christianity in Abyssinia. It is to be noted that there is a complete silence on the question whether there were bishops and clergy in Abyssinia, or that a church existed there. This silence is certainly very ominous, the more so since frequent synods were held at that time in the west, synods which fostered mutual information for Christian leaders and authors on the spread of the Christian faith. Thus this silence concerning Christianity in Abyssinia is bound to cause considerable reservation. These and similar considerations tend to indicate that the endeavors of Frumentios must have been slowed almost to the point of stagnation. The church Frumentios ruled must have remained very limited and handicapped, and this not only temporarily, but even for a longer period of time. All this seems so strange that the temptation arises to draw some conclusions about the slow progress of missionary work in Abyssinia.

This inference finds new confirmation from Ethiopian documents to which we now turn. There is a group of sources which testify to the fact that the advance of the Christian faith in Abyssinia needed a new impetus¹⁷. And only this new factor advanced the missionary work so decisively that the country became Christianized. This fresh impulse must have taken place before the beginning of the sixth century, because according to the witness of Sem'ōn of Bēt Aršām¹⁸ and Kosmas Indiopleustes¹⁹ — both flourished in the first part of the sixth century — the country was then already Christianized. Thus, after an interval of

¹⁷ Among other sources, chiefly of hagiographical, two deserve special mention: the Ethiopian synaxarium, *Synaxaire éthiopien*, éd. GUIDI-GRÉBAUT; the other is a section in the Maṣḥafa Mestir, «Book of Mystery», completed in 1424 by Giyorgis, Son of Hezba Syon, who describes here the beginnings of Christianity in Abyssinia, Ms. Paris Aeth. 113, fol. 59b.

¹⁸ *La lettera di Simeone vescovo de Bēth Aršām*, ed. GUIDI, p. 502ff.

¹⁹ *Topographia christiana*, ed. MIGNE, col. 169.

silence covering a century and a half, some information about the status of the church in Ethiopia comes down to us. The strongest evidence comes from Kosmas Indiopleustes who reports that he found the country thoroughly Christianized.

When we put the new data and some hints at our disposal together, we get the impression that the Christianization of the country required a rather long period of time, and that during this time the spread of Christianity needed more than one impulse in order to become established in Abyssinia. According to all we can observe in the sources, there must have been a stimulus. In this respect, the most vital force appears to have come from the outside.

b. *New Stimuli by the Syrian Monks*

Noteworthy among the immigrants who helped to evangelize the remaining pagan areas in the northern part of the Aksumite kingdom were not a few monks, nuns, priests and hermits from Egypt and Syria¹. Among these newcomers were nine celebrated monks, who, because of their vigorous missionary activity and reputation for piety and creative work in a number of areas of ecclesiastical life, were accorded the status of sainthood. The Ethiopians have remembered the men connected with this impetus. According to their tradition, these were immigrant monks who first arrived in Tigre and later went on to the northeastern part of the country.

The Chronicle of the Kings and the Synaxarium² have immortalized their names as follows: Za-Mikā'el called 'Aragāwi, Panṭaleōn, Isaak called Garīma, 'Afṣē, Gūba, Alēf called 'Ōṣ, Maṭā' or Yem'atā, Liqānōs, and Ṣeḥmā³. This list of names is highly interesting because it offers Aramaic names and reveals to us the fact that these monks were Syrians. Also, that which we hear about their religio-ascetic ideas and manners points not to the realm of Graeco-Byzantine, but to Syrian monasticism. What we are told about the life and manners of these monks is the typical and characteristic physiognomy of the heightened forms of mortifi-

¹ Be it mentioned here what Theodoretos has tell us. He gives us an account that among the pilgrims who visited Šem'ōn on his pillar, there were also people from Ethiopia; *Historia religiosa*, ed. MIGNE, col. 1473.

² *Synaxaire éthiopien*, éd. GUIDI-GRÉBAUT. COULBEAUX, *Histoire politique et religieuse d'Abyssinie I*, p. 167ff.

³ *Acta Pantaleonis*, ed. ROSSINI, p. 44.

cation⁴, so totally different when compared with Egyptian and Byzantine monastic practices and tenets⁵.

The Book of the Kings states that these men «made the faith correct», i.e. they won Abyssinian Christianity to the Monophysite fold⁶.

Regrettably, background of the arrival of these Syrian monks is not clear. Until now we have no hint whatsoever as to whether it was due to the unhappy and disastrous religious policy of the Byzantine rulers who possessed a proven talent of agitating the inhabitants of the Eastern provinces against the state, or whether it was due to the natural zeal of expanding Monophysitism or to church political considerations, namely, to find new allies in the South at a time when they felt a gathering of the storm clouds.

Another possibility is that these Syrian monks came from Southern Arabia, which is much closer to Ethiopia, and not from Syria. We know that Christianity which flourished in Himyar, particularly in Nağrān, already before the year 500 A.D. was Syrian and in intimate contact with the Syrian Church⁷.

c. *Their accomplishments*

The exact time of their arrival, as we said, cannot be determined. But we are more fortunate in another respect. We are able to hear something about the significance of the role which they played. In a series of Ethiopian documents, these men are celebrated as the fathers of Christianity in Abyssinia. We hear that they reformed customs, introduced Christian discipline and successfully fostered religious and ecclesiastical institutions. Further, they gave the church its liturgy and established monasticism. As the information stands, we must conclude that their influence and impact covered the entire field of spiritual life, and that owing to this impetus, the Christian cause took a new turn in the country. Such a state of affairs might make the Ethiopic tradition more

⁴ The best example is presented by Pantalēōn. He chose for his abode a place with rough natural conditions in the wilderness where he lived in a most primitive cell. The pattern of asceticism and mortification which he carried out in his cell display extreme forms: continuous standing on his feet, long vigils, radical curtailment of sleep, eating and drinking. *Acta Pantaleonis*, ed. ROSSINI, p. 45f.

⁵ VÖÖBUS, *Die Spuren eines älteren äthiopischen Evangelientextes*, p. 5ff.

⁶ *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam*, ed. ROSSINI.

⁷ To these Monophysites Ja'qōb of Serūg sent his letter of consolation, *Epistulae quotquot supersunt*, ed. OLINDER, p. 87ff. We have further information of this Christianity through the Syriac acts of martyrdom, the *Book of Himyarites*, ed. MÖBERG.

understandable, namely, that Ella Asbeha and Abreha came to be celebrated¹ as those champions² who introduced Christianity into Ethiopia. Their names are suggestive, having symbolic significance, Asbeha meaning «he who has brought about dawn», and Abreha, «he who has made light».

That which is related about their activities again calls for our attention. It is reported that they did not only create the liturgy and propagate the Monophysite theology and found monasticism, but that they also translated sacred books into the native language³. In this connection, a new and interesting factor has emerged, one which is very welcome in the effort to throw more light on such a difficult area of study. The more so because nothing more has been recorded by the Ethiopian sources concerning the origin of the translation of the sacred books⁴. A new pathway has been opened. It leads through the research on the translation of the gospels into Ethiopic. The above-mentioned record has invited an attempt to find out the truth and, indeed, these efforts have been rewarded. The earliest literary monuments in the genre of hagiographical sources⁵ were submitted to examination. In fact, they contain a kind of archaic gospel text which, due to its peculiar renderings, could come only from the Old Syriac version⁶. It is the pursuit which can be deepened even more. An undertaking to ferret out the most archaic strata in the tradition of the gospel text itself has also been rewarded. This investigation has led to an archaic layer in the textual history of the Ethiopic version which could come only from the ancient biblical traditions of the Syrians⁷. This search has opened up a new avenue and certain manuscripts with such archaic strata will bring

¹ During the 6th cent. two champions of the Christian faith ruled, one in Aksum named Ella Asbeha and the other at Himyar in Yemen named Abraham. The two rulers were not related to each other. Later one these legendary traditions were gathered about both in Abyssinian and Arabic sources and they came to be celebrated as the twin brothers who introduced Christianity.

² See also JONES-MONROE, *A History of Abyssinia*, p. 29ff.

³ KAMMERER, *Essai sur l'histoire antique d'Abyssinie*, p. 103ff.

⁴ Native Ethiopian tradition presents the claim that the version was produced in the time of Frumentios. This is a view which has been followed by COULBEAUX, *Histoire politique et religieuse d'Abyssinie I*, p. 172.

⁵ *Vita Eustathii*, ed. TURAIEV; *Acta Basalota Mikā'el*, ed. ROSSINI; *Acta Aaronis*, ed. TURAIEV; *Acta Philippi*, ed. TURAIEV; *Acta Honorii*, ed. ROSSINI and *Acta Takla Hawāryāt*, ed. ROSSINI.

⁶ VÖÖBUS, *Die Spuren eines älteren äthiopischen Evangelientextes*, p. 23ff.

⁷ VÖÖBUS, *Early Versions of the NT.*, p. 257ff.

out more light. It is gratifying that such light comes from unexpected quarters which are able to illumine something of the accomplishments of the Syrian monks in Abyssinia.

Thus, as the information stands, we must conclude that the influence and impact made by the Syrian monks in Abyssinia has covered the entire field of spiritual and ecclesiastical life, and that the resurgence of Christianity in the country of the Negus is to their credit.

X. MONASTICISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE LEGISLATIVE SOURCES

1. ANONYMOUS CANONS FOR THE MONASTIC COMMUNITIES

a. *The Sources*

A very interesting cycle of rules bears the title: «Canons which are necessary for the monks»¹. Here we have a document² of signal importance.

In the transmission of these canons, several strata can be discerned. The earliest layer is found in a number of sources. The oldest attainable form of the text is preserved in Ms. Mardin Orth. 157³. Another branch in the textual transmission⁴ exhibits deviations from this pattern⁵. Finally, in addition, there is another form⁶ of the same cycle, one which goes its own way. It is a recension which displays changes in structure, involving also various combinations, omissions and reductions⁷ but as well as supplementations⁸.

The text of canons in this cycle has been edited⁹.

The preservation of these texts is anonymous. Tradition, too, has forgotten all information about the origin of these canons and the circumstances under which they came into existence. Consequently, that which these texts themselves are willing to tell us is all that can be put at our disposal.

Close examination of these texts reveals a number of hints and indications which are able to assist us in the discussion of literary critical

¹ ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ.

² VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, I, 1, B, p. 363ff.

³ Fol. 101b-103b. The codex is from the 16th cent. Other witnesses are: Ms. Harvard Har. 36, fol. 2a-3b, of the year 1796/7 A. D., and Ms. Mosul Orth. 209, fol. 41a-42b, of the year 1911 A. D.

⁴ Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 302, fol. 38a-39b, of the year 1699 A. D.

⁵ Important deviations appear in Can. 2 (3) which changed the meaning entirely.

⁶ Ms. Mardin Orth. 422, fol. 2b-3b; this folio appears in a manuscript which was written in 1473/4 A.D. but the folio is written by a recent hand.

⁷ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, B, p. 363.

⁸ Can. 1 is recast in such a way that the prescription for psalmody has been supplemented with the requirement for the *būrḳē*, *marmyātā* and even with the ejection: ܒܪܟܬܐ ܡܪܝܐ *barek Māri*.

⁹ *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 71ff.

8. It is not lawful for a monk to enter a banquet and to recline with those sitting at the tables — if (he does) not (observe this rule), he will be obliged to leave that banquet which has been prepared for the saints on high.

9. It is not lawful for a monk to stand outside and narrate vanities at the time of the prayer of the community of the eucharist; if he is a partaker he shall go in and weep over his sin; if (he does) not (partake) let him depart without guilt.

10. It is not lawful for a monk to participate in secular affairs³, to take charge⁴ in the village and to become a supervisor⁵ of granaries and wine presses; if he dares (to do so), he is left by the Messiah who did not divide the possession of the brothers⁶.

11. It is not lawful for a monk-priest — except for need — to serve in a town or a village because of bodily profit — he shall destroy the spiritual ones; that one who transgresses is condemned to judgement.

12. It is right for the monks to fast from food as well as from wine on Wednesday and Friday so that their fast shall be complete and their reward perfect.

13. It is right for the monks that they shall glow with mercy and the pity of atonement towards the poor and needy, and especially towards the strangers who live among them, in order that the Messiah shall confess goodness from them, that is, «I was a stranger and you have gathered me»⁷, and again, «Forget not love of the strangers»⁸.

14. It is right for the monks to clothe zeal in doctrine for the church their mother and to teach the mystery of faith from continuous reading as the holy fathers have commanded — they shall not become as soil that (produces) no fruits — in order that they shall not receive the curse and blessing of the sons of fire, as the apostle says⁹.

15. It is right for the monks to fear God, so that they do not trespass and neglect any of the canons; also that they do not walk over much to (their) own destruction; that one who trespasses and dares — righteousness shall judge him.

³ Or: «managements».

⁴ Or: «office».

⁵ Lit. «one who divides».

⁶ Cf. Luke XII, 13f.

⁷ Matth. XXV, 35.

⁸ Heb. XIII, 2.

⁹ Cf. I Cor. III, 13ff.

16. It is right for the abbot and the elders of the convents and holy monasteries that they shall be helpers to the cause¹⁰ of the fear of God in these canons and paternal laws, and shall not despise them: therefore that one who keeps and strengthens his brothers — mercy and pity shall be unto him; that one who despises shall be excommunicated.

17. A monk who shall let out (funds) in usury and who bargains¹¹ in wine or wheat and the rest such as these — it is not right; that one who dares and trespasses, he shall be cursed — so be it!

18. It is also not lawful for monks to pray in church without a cowl except in case of necessity; that one who trespasses shall be condemned.

19. It is right that one shall become an abbot who has been chastely educated in a monastery and who knows the canons of the monks from reading and experience; he shall be a humble man, calm, self-controlled and a lover of men.

20. It is right for the *meparnsānē*¹² to be righteous men and upright — those who in knowledge and fairness of management serve their brothers in the fear of God and not because of worldly ambitions and impure honors.

21. It is right for a *rabbaitā* to be righteous, merciful, loving strangers, good (in) his eye and sweet (in) his word towards every man: he shall not be greedy in eating and drinking, nor fall under the judgement of the wicked ones.

22. The one that stands adversely against the abbot because he aligns himself with men in a party, if there does not exist a cause that is worthwhile — they have to depart from the monastery as adversaries or demonstrate¹³ a new attitude¹⁴.

23. (As for) a monk who hits his companion, it is not lawful (for him) to break fasting and naziritehood for three months; if that one who was struck returned the blow, he shall fast one month in naziritehood because of the blow which he delivered.

24. A monk who is a slanderer of his brothers and incites quarrels, shall cease or go from the monastery as an enemy of the peace since he has become a companion of that one, namely, the slanderer of God in paradise.

¹⁰ Lit.: «word».

¹¹ Or: «repays».

¹² *ḥayyot*.

¹³ Lit.: «give».

¹⁴ Lit.: «faces».

25. A monk who drinks shall cease or so often as he drinks fast thirty days until the evening; but if he resists, he shall be with those whom Paul reckons outside the kingdom of God¹⁵.

26. A monk who is sound in body and does not study — (for) doctrine is a light for men and life for the soul as it is written¹⁶ — he shall be constant and practiced¹⁷ in naziritehood and fasting.

2. THE CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO RABBŪLĀ

a. *The Source*

A cycle of rules under the title «The canons of Rabbūlā, bishop of Edessa for the monks»¹ has come down to us. Good fortune has preserved this interesting document but only in a single manuscript². The precious source which has preserved this record is in Ms. Mus. Borgia 10³, a record to which we are in debt for the collection with the largest number of monastic regulations.

Except for a minor section, this cycle of canons ascribed to Rabbūlā does not coincide with those which have previously been discussed. The first six canons appear in Rabbūlā's collection of canons though in different order. But the rest of the cycle contains canons which are entirely different and have no parallels elsewhere.

We know nothing about the origin and provenance of these rules. But one thing is certain: they justifiably bear the name of the Edessene bishop. The observation that, among the first six canons, there is one which prohibits economic growth⁴, and that not in the adapted form we find elsewhere⁵, tends to suggest that the whole cycle has not been cast in one piece, but that two disparate parts have been mechanically put together.

The entire spirit as well as the situation for which the main body of the canons was designed was different. This body of material presupposes an

¹⁵ Cf. I Cor. VI, 10.

¹⁶ Cf. John I, 4.

¹⁷ Or: «constant once again».

¹ *Ḥiṣ ḥabā, miḥrā kanonēn Rabbūlā*.

² VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen* I, 1, B, p. 350ff.

³ Fol. 106a-109a.

⁴ Can. 4.

⁵ BAR 'EBRAYA, *Nomocanon*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 110.

advanced stage of coenobitism, whereas this issue at Rabbūlā's time was still a matter of controversy. Moreover, these canons presuppose a scene in which the question whether there was any proper place for the recluse in these alarmingly large communities quite naturally arose⁶. The same stage of development had also necessitated growth in the administration of the monastic communities. Further, among the first six rules, monks are forbidden to leave the monastery⁷; but the injunctions in the body of the canons say otherwise. One says that monks can go to the villages and towns — that is not prohibited — only they are not allowed to eat anywhere except at the place they are staying⁸. Another canon says the same, and forbids the passing of the night outside the monastery⁹. Finally, the last line on the folio makes the remark that there are thirty-four canons altogether. There must be something wrong about this, for though the text does not offer an enumeration, there seem to be more canons than is stated. Thus the two parts of the canons have been brought together by force, something unnatural to either of them. Somehow the canons of Rabbūlā must have been mixed up with another set, perhaps a codex containing canonical materials from which a leaf has been lost, thus facilitating the merger of two disparate bodies of text — a phenomenon well known to those who deal with manuscripts¹⁰. Accordingly, the obvious contradictions find their natural explanation on this assumption.

The script of the manuscript does not help us to determine how far back the origin of this cycle may be traced¹¹. Some very general observations can, however, be made. If the remarkable principle expressed in the canons — to safeguard the particular position of those in extraordinary chastisement and the forms of mortification¹² — serve as a guide, one is inclined to place the origin of these canons during the

⁶ Can. 30.

⁷ Can. 1.

⁸ Can. 29.

⁹ Can. 13.

¹⁰ Rabbūlā's name could very easily be added to this concluding remark by a careless scribe who did not check the situation diligently.

¹¹ The manuscript which has preserved the canons is relatively young. A remark by the copyist says that the codex was written in the year 1895 A. Gr., i.e. 1583/4 A. D.

¹² Can. 30, indeed, seems to offer a significant hint. The rule that the recluses cannot be in a large monastery, seems to be an echo of the older standards with isolated extraordinary forms of mortification, which we find in the rules of Rabbūlā. Later the rigorous standards were abandoned.

period of blossoming. The impression given by the other canons also seem to favor this conclusion.

The text of this cycle of canons has been edited¹³ twice¹⁴.

b. *The Canons*

The Canons of Rabbūlā, bishop of Edessa for the Monks

1. The brother-monks shall not enter the villages except only the *sā'ūrē*¹ of the monastery: and they shall observe the order of chastity.

2. The *sā'ūrā* who enters a village or a town, shall not go around to the guest houses and pass the night with the seculars, but in a church or a monastery that is nearby.

3. Monks shall not drink wine so that they will not blaspheme and monks shall guard themselves constantly (so) that they do not buy wine and drink.

4. Monks shall not possess the goods of sheep and goats or of horses, or other animals, except for a donkey or one yoke of oxen — and then (only) those who seed something for themselves and who have need of them.

5. Books which are outside the faith of the church shall not be in the monasteries.

6. They shall receive strangers kindly and shall not close the door in the face of one of the brothers.

7. No one of the brothers shall buy or sell anything without the command of the abbot, and the three brothers who are next to him (in rank).

8. No one can give anything to someone without (consent of the) abbot except (for) three loaves of bread.

9. No one who lives in the monastery shall steal anything, and if it is detected that he steals, he shall be reduced in his rank by fifteen brothers (below) him; if that one is a priest, he shall be the last of the priests; if that one is (already) the last of the priests, he shall receive the canon (of punishment) for three years; and if it is his habit to steal, he shall leave the monastery in order that the whole body of the brotherhood not be corrupted.

10. No one shall raise his hand against his companion; the one who

¹³ MOUNAYER, «Canons relatifs aux moines», p. 406ff.

¹⁴ Syriac and Arabic Documents, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 80ff.

¹ ܣܳܐܳܘܪܳܐ.

dares (to do so) and beats his companion, shall be sent (from his rank to that of) the twelfth of the brothers; the one who mocks and jokes² and causes strife, shall be sent (from his rank to that of) the sixtieth of the brothers.

11. No one shall have a meal outside the coenobium of the community (of monks), except the sick ones.

12. No one shall eat during the day without the blessing of the abbot.

13. No one shall pass the night outside the monastery except the *sā'ūrē*.

14. The one who is detected in adultery shall not remain in the monastery, unless he turns from his sin and accepts the canon (of punishment), and is no (longer) found in this habit; it is not right that the testimony of only one be accepted (as sufficient to accuse a brother in this matter).

15. A monk who dwells in the monastery shall not lend anything on interest, even if he has something from his own resources.

16. Those who direct the monastery shall not act by giving favor³.

17. No one shall enter the garden and take something from it (without the permission of) those who have been appointed over it.

18. No one shall eat with a relative if he comes to the monastery outside the scheduled time, and without the *būrktā*⁴ of the abbot.

19. No monk shall accompany his companion and pass over the threshold of the gate (of the monastery) without (the permission) of the abbot.

20. No one shall go (out) for the personal affair or to his home without (the permission of) the abbot.

21. A brother — a novice who is to become a monk in three years — shall not go out of the monastery without (the permission of) the abbot.

22. No one shall depart from the canon (of punishment) that the abbot has imposed on him, except in (case of) sickness.

23. Each year in the months of Ilūl⁵, the full moon, the eucharist shall be celebrated⁶, and a vigil and worship service and a feast, and the abbot shall distribute the ordinances of the monastery, and in love shall

² Lit.: «and is tale-telling».

³ Lit.: «accepting faces».

⁴ ܠܳܒܳܝܳܬܳܐ.

⁵ September.

⁶ Lit.: «made».

arrange⁷ the weeks for the brothers in order that fighting and harm between themselves may not occur.

24. An abbot shall not neglect the worship service and the *būrke*⁸.

25. No one shall talk during the worship service and prayer — not even the abbot — and not at the meal-table, without necessity.

26. No one shall neglect prayer.

27. No monk shall eat with women at all, by no means with his mother or his sister.

28. Monks shall not go to the banquet or feast nor shall a monk become a groomsman or a godfather at baptism for the seculars.

29. A monk, if he enters a town or a village, shall not eat except in that house where he stays, and he shall not go out to roam on the streets and in the houses because of his stomach, (and thus) debase his chaste garment.

30. No recluse⁹ shall be in the monastery of a large convent, nor shall (there) be in it two manners¹⁰ (of monastic life).

31. No one who has something (of the possessions) from his family shall claim¹¹ that this is his own or revile the brothers because he had to give it to the monastery, or shall have more authority over it than of the whole coenobium.

32. No one, if he knows a certain craft (or profession) shall seek for himself the honor of it, more than that (one) who does not know this; and if he is wise and learned he shall not exalt himself above those who are weaker in knowledge than he, but he shall do everything for God's glory and shall take refuge in Him all the time.

33. No person shall become *sā'ūrē* of the monks except righteous ones, true, chaste and tested, pleasing in their manners and not greedy for anything.

34. But the abbot shall take care of the service of the community and of the good order of the brotherhood; and those who (stand in their rank) next to him, shall take care of the sustenance of everything (so) that the monastery may not lack in anything.

35. The abbot and those three who are with him, shall manage the

⁷ Lit.: «make».

⁸ *κλίσιν*.

⁹ *κλίσιν*.

¹⁰ *σχῆμα*.

¹¹ Lit.: «say».

expense and income¹², and every affair of the community; whether (it produces) sins or righteousness that will come (to light) afterwards¹³.

36. No one who lives in the monastery shall give anything of the properties of the monastery to his relatives; the opulence of the monastery is a grace of our Lord; also what he gives away and distributes will be of harm to himself and to his relatives.

We have written these canons for your honor about the ordinances and canons of the monastery on the coenobitic life.

Here end the canons of the monks, 36 (in numbers), those of Rabbūlā.

3. THE CANONS FOR THE MONKS IN PERSIA

a. *The Sources*

There exists a cycle of canons of anonymous origin called the canons of the «Persians». In their original cast, they have not come down to us, but have survived only in the form which appears in the codification work of Bar 'Ebrāyā¹. Bar 'Ebrāyā introduces these rules as the canons of the «Persians»² and that is the only direct information we possess about this cycle. Nothing has been preserved about origin and background in the canons themselves — the introduction which may have contained information has not been included by Bar 'Ebrāyā into this corpus. In addition, all attempts to find further data in other related literary sources have failed.

The first observation we can make is this, that these canons are not comprised only of injunctions to the monks. The collection embraces a larger area³. This gives us some clues about the origin of these norms. They were obviously not regulations established by a local monastic community — in its present form — nor by a group of monasteries. Evidently these canons were brought into being by the action of

¹² Or: «commercial dealings»; lit.: «receiving».

¹³ Lit.: «after these».

¹ *Nomocanon* VII, 10.

² *κλίσιν* is the only word that marks this new section.

³ The greater part of it regulates ecclesiastical affairs, answers questions with regard to the consecration of the eucharist, deals with matters concerning the service of the clergy, and treats various other issues of church practice, *Nomocanon*, p. 44, 57, 64, 70, 73f., 96, 101.

ecclesiastical authorities, and in the nature of the case, there were made normative for monasteries over a larger area.

Further, the canons bear within them unmistakable indications that they belong to the Monophysite faction of monasticism in Persia. A clear hint, that points to Persian territory, is given in connection with the question of exempt monasteries⁴, the jurisdiction of which was taken from the hands of the local bishops and reserved for «the patriarch in the Occident and the Catholicos in the Orient». This remark speaks for itself. The seat of the highest spiritual leader of this group was regarded as being in the West, i.e. the patriarch in Antioch. After him, the «Catholicos in the Orient» obviously the Metropolitan of Tagrit⁵.

The text of the canons⁶ rests on a number of codices⁷. The company of known manuscripts has been increased⁸ by the new documents which have emerged in the Syrian Orient⁹.

b. *The Canons*

(The Canons) of the Persians

(1) Bishops shall not rule over the monasteries in which a patriarch or a catholicos is buried, but the patriarch in the West and the catholicos in the East.

(2) The abbot, when he examines the brothers, shall put each in an office¹ which is suitable for him.

(3) A *rabbaitā* shall not be greedy in eating or drinking and he shall honor more the brothers who labor more.

(4) A doorkeeper shall be quiet (gentle) and humble and not angry; and he shall receive no deposit² from anyone.

⁴ Can. 1.

⁵ About this seat see *Histoire de Mār Ahoudemmeh*, p. 15ff. and also DENHA, *Histoire de Marouta métropolitain de Tagrit*, p. 61ff.

⁶ The oldest are: Ms. Berlin Orient. Pet. I, 23, fol. 54a-55a, of the year 1355/6 A. D., and Ms. Laur. Med. Orient 294, fol. 39b-40a, of the year 1357 A. D.

⁷ The following two manuscripts come from the 15th cent.: Ms. Paris Syr. 226, fol. 51a-52a, of the year 1487/8, and Ms. Oxford. Hunt. I, fol. 275b-276a, of the year 1499. Other manuscripts are younger. See *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 88.

⁸ Ms. Šarfeh Syr. 4/4, fol. 51a-51b, of the 15th cent. and Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 460, fol. 51a-51b, of the 15th cent.

⁹ Ms. Jerusalem Mark 207 and 208, the latter being written in 1291 A. D. Ms. Mosul Orth. 40 was written in 1482/3 A. D. Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 322 comes from the same century; others are younger: Ms. Mardin Orth. 316 and 317, see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*. Ms. Mār Mattai 2 and 19. Ms. Qartāmīn, a folio volume, has no signature.

¹ Lit.: «service».

² *ṣabānā*.

(5) A *sā'ūrā*³ of the monastery shall not take⁴ more for himself than that which has been set apart for him by the abbot; and he shall bridle his desires with the seculars.

(6) A monk who sins shall be reproved, and up to two times it shall be forgiven him; on the third occasion he shall be expelled.

(7) A monk who is not prepared⁵ for the night in the service, shall not sit at the table with the brothers.

(8) Brothers shall sleep on mats and carpets, the abbot and the weak ones in beds since they do not loosen their girdles nor put off (their clothes).

(9) A monk who serves the priesthood in a church of a town or that of a village, shall put on white garments over his monastic *'eskīmā*⁶ in order that monasticism may not become contemptible in the world.

(10) A priest or a deacon who wants to put on (the monastic garment) shall first begin by serving for one year in the sanctuary⁷ and then he shall put on (the garment); if he is a brother, the abbot shall assign him to another service for a year before he shall put on (the garment).

(11) When a monk ceases from manual work⁸, he shall meditate on the divine books.

(12) During the nights of the Saturdays, if this be possible, the brothers shall stay in the service since the evening⁹.

(13) While the brothers dine, a homily¹⁰ shall be read in order that with the body the soul, too, might be nourished.

(14) Brothers shall not go outside the monastery without the order of the abbot; and for three years before the donning of (the monastic garment) they cannot go out even if the abbot (so) orders.

(15) A monk shall take care of the correction of himself only, and not that of his brothers.

(16) An abbot, however, and a *mešablānā*¹¹ shall take care of themselves and of the brothers.

³ *ṣā'ūrā*.

⁴ Lit.: «possess».

⁵ Ms. Vatican Syr. 358 adds here: «for God».

⁶ *ṣḫīma*.

⁷ Lit.: «apse». The Syriac term is *ṣānā*.

⁸ Lit.: «of hands».

⁹ Ms. Šarfeh Syr. 4/4 places this canon on the margin.

¹⁰ *ṣāḫānā*.

¹¹ *ṣāḫānā*.

b. *The Canons*

Canons which are observed in care, earnestness, great watchfulness, and diligence by those who approach our dress, this holy and angelic garment¹ of monasticism.

1. Before all things it is right for these who dress in this holy and angelic garment of our father, blessed Aba Antonios, that they shall become like him in his asceticism and his humility.

2. That they shall not satisfy themselves either with bread or with water, and also not by sleep.

3. He shall not speak to his side and also not to his back, but fittingly, his face shall look towards the East.

4. He shall lean against a wall whenever he sleeps; or shall make for himself a seat (or a chair) of stones or of wood² and shall rest upon it.

5. Whensoever he sits or stands or does some work, he shall first make³ three *būrke*.

6. Every day he shall complete three hundred determined *būrke* — these besides the seven prayer (hours) which are fixed in the assembly of the community.

7. Fasting is until the ninth hour, if possible, during the (whole) evening continuously⁴.

8. But nazaritehood and asceticism⁵ (shall be according to) the ability of his strength.

9. (As far as) he can, he shall not eat his bread except alone.

10. There (shall be) no going and coming to his private (cell) along with one or two, and (particularly) not continually, except in time of necessity.

11. By no means shall he ever eat something with a woman — not with his mother nor with his sister.

12. If that (monk) is a priest he shall not give the eucharist to women, nor to one who does not understand⁶ his deeds and works.

These, our beloved brother, observe — that you may not be judged by

¹ σχῆμα.

² The reference to «wood» is absent in Ms. Vatican Syr. 58, fol. 107b.

³ Lit.: «put».

⁴ The last part in this canon is absent in Ms. Vatican Syr. 58, fol. 107b.

⁵ *ῥαυααα*.

⁶ Lit.: «know».

God — with the rest of other virtues, those which the order⁷ of this angelic garment⁸ demands.

⁷ *κατά*, τάξις.

⁸ σχῆμα.

XI. THE PERIOD OF THE ISLAMIC INVASION

1. INTRODUCTION

An entirely new epoch was presaged for Christianity in the east with the Islamic invasion. The political and religious conditions in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia were completely upset by this earth-shaking event. In the almost unknown desert of Arabia, a power destined to inherit the cultural world of the Orient exploded onto the scene. The new religion of Islam, within an incredible short time, became a political factor evolving into the empire of the caliphs.

In connection with the expansion of Arab power, it is certainly a mistake to assume that Muhammad had nothing to do with its development¹ and that his aspirations in this respect were limited. His ambitions must be viewed from the perspective of his call, one which constantly saw the horizon of his mission moving forward towards a universalistic goal².

The expansion was so rapid that it has not been equalled. Both Byzantium and Persia turned out to be vulnerable and feeble in the face of the unexpected rise of power from the desert. Insofar as Byzantium is concerned, it is no surprise that its eastern provinces fell so quickly, a ripe fruit on the lap of the Arabs. The regime had fully prepared the soil for that consequence. Forever brutal against those who were defenseless, tireless in the persecution of people because of their religious convictions, the scales fell from the eyes of the potentates when they were forced to recognize that the measures they had prosecuted in the interest of ecclesiastical quarrels had only served the purpose of preparing the masses in the eastern provinces for the invaders. The weakness of Persia which had been active and vigorous is more striking, although the invaders here met stronger resistance. As opposed to the pace of conquest in Syria and Mesopotamia, the annexation of Persia could not

take place that easily and, indeed, even after the annexation, considerable time was needed to suppress the explosions of resistance³.

It falls outside the purpose of this volume to trace in detail the course of these breathtaking happenings. It is sufficient to mention in brief the main steps in these epoch-making events.

When Abu Bakr gave the order to his armies to start the move across the boundaries, a signal was given for spectacular conquests in the history of wars. In the year 634, the Arab armies invaded Syria, soon preparing for the fatal blow to the forces of Byzantium. In Syria among outstanding towns one of the first to capitulate to the invaders was Boşra, a center of the Ghassanid state. The terms were mild: the annual payment of one dinar by every adult male and one *jarīb* of wheat⁴. Damascus fell in the year 635. The battle of Yarmuk⁵ in the following year brought the fatal blow to the forces of Heraclios and finally decided the fate of Syria. Antioch fell in 636. Even earlier, the forces of Abu Bakr, which operated independently, had crossed the boundaries of Persia. In Iraq, the initial case of success was the capitulation of Hira, the strongly fortified capital of the Lakhmids, inhabited by Christian Arabs. The demand of Khālid ibn al-Walīd that they were to accept Islam was rejected and the population remained loyal to its Christian faith, and as a result, it was willing to pay the tribute⁶. In 633, the barrier constituted by the Lakhmid Arabs was broken⁷. After their catastrophic defeat, the remnants of the Persian court could only abide in Holwān for a short while⁸ — but the lot had been cast and the power of the victors there secured for centuries.

First of all, it is necessary to clarify certain basic premises. There has been a wide prejudice that the period beginning with the Islamic invasion must be regarded as one in which the decline of the Christian culture in these lands was well advanced. According to this view, from the moment Syrian Christianity had to submit itself to the Arab invaders, one must reckon with the end of the floraison of Christian culture and the beginning of its demise. Confirmation for this view has been seen in certain archaeological phenomena. De Vogüé received the impression

¹ CAETANI, *Annali dell' Islam* V, p. 323f.

² The term «all mankind», as the goal of the mission of Islam is clearly brought out in Sure I, 1; VI, 160; XXXIV, 27; when Sure XXI, 107 and LXVIII, 52 speak of «all creatures» the meaning must be the same.

³ BALĀDHURĪ, *Futuh al-buldān* ed. DE GOEJE, p. 301ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112f.

⁵ SEBEOS, *Histoire d'Héraclius*, tr. MACLER, p. 98ff.

⁶ ṬABARĪ, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul*, ed. DE GOEJE I, p. 2041.

⁷ Hira changed hands twice, and finally fell into Arab hands in 635.

⁸ The main town, Istakhr, was conquered in 649/50.

from the ruins of the monasteries and churches in Syria that these must all have been abandoned as a result of a great catastrophe. According to him, these phenomena can best be explained in the light of the calamities caused by the Arab invasion⁹. Seen from this perspective, the Arab invasion not only turned the churches and monasteries into ruins but also destroyed Christian life and culture in such a way that no new life could rise from these ruins.

We do not need to look long in this direction. This view of the Islamic invasion as a great catastrophe reaches back to the contemporary Byzantine historians who followed these epoch-making events with shock and horror and were so jolted by the victories of the Arabs that they believed the end of the world to be at hand. These contemporary feelings and sentiments are clearly reflected, for example, in a letter written by Sophronios to Sergios and Honorios¹⁰. On this question the Byzantine authorities cannot be authoritative. It would be too much to expect of these Byzantine history writers, namely, that they would have been able to assess the catastrophes which overtook them more objectively. Judging from the documents, one must conclude that the Islamic invasion cannot be assessed as something which was utterly catastrophic. The destruction and ruins to be seen in the archaeological remains in Syria which have been associated with the Islamic invasion must have been reduced to rubble at an earlier point in time. The cause of the massive ruins must be sought for and located in various Persian incursions and raids and military expeditions. Indeed, one may view the whole of the sixth century only as a preparation for the real hurricane from Persia which broke out at the beginning of the seventh century. These forays and incidents enveloped much in its vortex of destruction which these areas could not recuperate.

For a balanced assessment of the situation, it is necessary to gain some clarity about the aims of the Arabs in their invasion. It is obvious that it makes an immense difference if the invasion was intended to support a fanatical religious war of conquest or if it was an undertaking which had other objectives.

The true purpose of the Islamic invasion has found expression by Muhammad himself in the Quran. Here the new prophet speaks in concrete terms. He has laid down a program which his generals were to

⁹ *Syrie centrale, architecture civile et religieuse*, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Oratio Sophronii in Christi Salvatoris natalitia*, ed. USENER, p. 500ff.

materialize: to battle against those who possess sacred books but who do not recognize the true religion and to continue the battle until they were completely subjugated and had agreed to pay tribute¹¹. As these injunctions show, the real purpose of the battles and the conquest was not the compulsion to force the subjugated people to change their religion and to embrace Islam, but rather to impose upon them the tribute. From the standpoint of the Quran, the Islamic invasion must be regarded not so much as a religious but as an economic-political undertaking. Accordingly, the Arabs did not invade the Syrian, Mesopotamian and Persian territories as fanatic conquerors with sword and fire to prepare the way for the acceptance of Islam, as the crusaders were to do during the Middle Ages for their religion. Of course, it can be taken for granted that in these military operations religion could not be entirely left out. When Abu Yūsaf Ya'qūb says that the prophet never fought against any group without appealing to them to receive Islam¹², it is no doubt trustworthy. 'Umar, in a letter sent to a commander, orders him to put the Mesopotamian Christians before the alternative of embracing Islam or of accepting the tribute¹³. This appeal was formal; its aim was, however, above all, economic and political. Religion remained a completely internal matter to be decided by the inhabitants themselves. Judging the invasion of the Arabs from this angle, we cannot forget that the real object of the conquest was not Christianity but the states of Byzantium and Persia.

That this was the main principle, is shown also by the fact that not only was the conquest carried out in accord with it; that which happened in the conquered territories brought only a change in the power politics, and that only at the highest level. It also fell on the shoulders of 'Umar to devise a plan for the provisional administration of the conquered lands. It is marked, in fact, by simplicity and practicality according to the same basic principle for conquest. The actual work of administration was continued in the old way and by the same personnel. The same was the case with regard to the financial apparatus¹⁴. All this illustrates the real aim of the conquest delineated in the Quran.

¹¹ «Fight against those who do not believe in God; nor in the last day, do not forbid what God and His Apostle forbid, nor practise the true religion, from among those who have been given the Book, until they pay the *jizya* out of hand, being submissive», Sure IX, 29.

¹² YA'QOUB, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, tr. FAGNAN, p. 295.

¹³ TABARĪ, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul* I, V, p. 2506.

¹⁴ The financial apparatus operated by the Byzantine, Jewish and Persian officials which was conducted in Greek and Persian respectively continued for many years.

2. THE CONQUEST

The conquest of the whole of Syria and Iraq fell upon the shoulders of the second caliph, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

In the light of what has already been said, we can see why «The people of the book»¹ were favorably dealt in the course of the military operations² — with the exception of Christian Arabs who were regarded in a special category from the very beginning³. The attitude with which the Christians were greeted on their first confrontations with the Arab intruders was reasonably favorable. That which is reflected in their feelings and sentiments demonstrates a disposition very different from that of Sophronios; the majority of these Christians took the opposite view. To the Monophysites in Syria and Mesopotamia, the Arab intruders even appeared as liberators who were bringing all the harassments and vexations which had troubled them for such a long time to an end. — Michael Syrus, for example, has used sources which speak with deep bitterness of the terror of Byzantium which had mercilessly ravaged the monasteries and churches of the Monophysites; these sources even suggest that the hand of providence brought the Arabs from the south⁴ as liberators⁵. The similar sentiments to the same effect, namely, that the God of vengeance had delivered the suffering Christian people from the cruelties of the Byzantines by means of the Arabs also is to be seen in the chronicle of Bar 'Ebrāyā⁶. Indeed, even among the East Syrians, it is clear that such feelings were not entirely absent. Upon reading the final part of an anonymous Nestorian chronicle, one is left with the impression that also among Nestorian circles there were many who welcomed the Arabs as rescuers from the Persian regime⁷.

Instructive episodes are to be found in such sources which tell that in many places Christians favored the Arab invasion, and gave active help⁸.

¹ This category included the Christians, Jews, Sabians and Magians.

² Idolatry had to be eradicated. Idolaters were put before the choice of the acceptance of Islam or to become slaves or were put to death.

³ The Christian Arabs constituted a special category: they had to pay a double *zakāt* instead of a tribute. Occasionally they had to suffer very heavily. A head of the Taghlib tribe was cruelly tortured since he refused to forsake his religion.

⁴ *Chronique*, éd. CHABOT II, p. 412f.

⁵ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.*, ed. CHABOT I, p. 236f.

⁶ *Chronicon eccl.*, ed. ABLELOOS-LAMY II, col. 90.

⁷ *Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik*, p. 40.

⁸ For instance in Damascus a certain deacon Jōhannān appeared as an intermediary; *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.*, ed. CHABOT I, p. 248.

One episode recorded in Balādhurī gives us an insight into the feelings of the Christians. When the Byzantines embarked upon a counterattack, Abu 'Ubaida ordered the return of the tribute collected from Emesa and other towns to them in view of the fact that the battle against the Byzantines was inevitable — should the Arabs win, he would come back to exact the tribute; but should the Byzantines be victorious, the tribute would remain with the inhabitants and they would be absolved of the oath given to the Arabs. The inhabitants responded by indicating that they preferred the rule of the Arabs to oppression and tyranny: «We very much prefer your government and justice to the oppression and injustice of our former rulers». After the victory at Yarmuk, the Arabs returned and Balādhurī says that the inhabitants opened the gates of the town and went out to meet the victorious Arabs with songs and music and received them with jubilation⁹. Nor does this stem only from the Arab sources. A similar episode is also recorded in an anonymous chronicle in Syriac¹⁰.

Other episodes which show that the Arabs knew how to make themselves agreeable and pleasing, and how to awaken confidence in them through their humane attitude are on record. 'Umar's good-heartedness and magnanimity were widely known¹¹. Balādhurī speaks of 'Umar's care of and support for poor Christians needing foodstuffs and money¹². And if such a humane attitude was lacking or deficient, diplomatic skill could activate action to put the invaders into a favorable light. Indeed, it did not require much skill to realize the great advantage of such a friendly attitude. Since Mesopotamia, with its many towns and fortresses, also had to be conquered, it was certainly prudent policy on the part of the Arabs to admonish their troops to proceed with due care and caution to preserve their good reputation in order to facilitate the conquest and prepare a way for them¹³. There certainly is much truth in the report given by Wakidi that the just rule and the righteous administration of the Arabs won the hearts of the people¹⁴.

This and more tended to persuade many towns and settlements to capitulate to the Arabs. While the inhabitants of Aleppo fled and Abu

⁹ BALĀDHURĪ, *Futūḥ al buldān*, p. 137.

¹⁰ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* I, p. 248f.

¹¹ AS-SUYUTĪ, *History of the Caliphs*, tr. JARRET, p. 81; cf. ABOU YOUSOF YA'QOUB, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, p. 194.

¹² *Liber expugnationis regionum*, tr. RESCHER, p. 131.

¹³ WAKIDI, *Kitab al Magheri*, tr. WELLHAUSEN, p. 34.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

‘Ubaida could not find anyone left behind inasmuch as all of them had sought shelter in Antioch — the inhabitants furthermore refused to return before a treaty was made with the new potentates. The treaty with the Christians of Aleppo stipulated payment of tribute by the inhabitants in return for which they were to receive security for themselves and their children, the wall of the town as well as the town itself, its religious buildings, houses and the fortress. This treaty also requires the Christians to reserve a lot in the town for a mosque¹⁵. This what happened in Aleppo constitutes an intermezzo which deviates from the mainline. In the light of the overall picture of the conquests, the facts point in a different direction. We see that the inhabitants of many towns and settlements, due to their generally favorable attitude toward the Arabs, peacefully opened their gates. The capitulation of Damascus serves as a good example. The siege of Damascus was prolonged. Its surrender did not take place until three months had elapsed, in the year 635. The account given by Balādhurī¹⁶ is most instructive. In the story of its capitulation, the bishop and the abbot of a monastery located near the eastern gate played a decisive role. The Arab commander had taken up his residence in this monastery where dealings were made with the bishop. One day he appeared on the wall and conveyed a message to the Arab commander: «Come to an understanding with me about this city»¹⁷. He offered vital services to the Arabs which led to the capitulation of the town¹⁸.

In the year 637, practically the whole of Syria fell into Arab hands.

That which happened in Syria also happened in Mesopotamia and in much the same way. Among the many towns in which inhabitants capitulated, Edessa must be included.

The sources leave us with a clear picture about the capitulation of Edessa. The Arabs encountered no resistance from the inhabitants in the villages and the country folk welcomed the invaders. However, the town itself was prepared for a long siege since the governor and military forces of Byzantium were present. When during this siege the governor and

¹⁵ IBN ACH-CHINNA, *Les perles choisies*, tr. SAUVAGET I, p. 19f.

¹⁶ *Futūh al buldān*, p. 121f.

¹⁷ The bishop secretly made a covenant with the Arab commander during the siege of the town.

¹⁸ Very important information was given to the Arab commander Khālīd ibn al-Walīd regarding a suitable time and place for entering the town. Using the help given by the community of the monastery, the commander could obtain ladders, climb the wall and capture this particular gate, which was entirely unguarded, and to open it.

most of the Greeks managed to escape, the native inhabitants who remained in the town offered to surrender on the terms which had earlier been proposed. Its inhabitants told the Arabs that they rather loved their government and justice more than the oppression and injustice which they, until then, had to endure at the hands of the Byzantines¹⁹.

The situation in Persia²⁰ was little different²¹. The decisive victory over the Persians was won by Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ at al-Qādisiyyah in the year 637. This victory opened the whole of the fertile lowland of Iraq to the conquerors. This is not the place to go into the details of the conquest of Persia. Let it suffice here to state that the inhabitants of the towns and villages, both Syrian and Arab Christians, were happy to become liberated from the oppression of the Persians — just as the inhabitants in the towns and villages in Syria and Mesopotamia had been pleased to be rid of the yoke of Byzantium.

In the formation of such an attitude on the part of the people, one factor played an important role. It had to do with the future — namely the protection of the inhabitants.

In this respect, Muhammad himself provided an example of the way to deal with the Christians. In connection with the Christians of Naḡrān²², he had a written guarantee issued²³, upon payment of tribute, to the effect that they would receive protection for their religion, and that no bishop, monk or *wāqif* would be hindered from carrying out his religious duties²⁴. During the time of ‘Umar, the acute problems which had

¹⁹ BALĀDHURĪ, *Futūh al buldān*, p. 174f.

²⁰ ṬABARĪ, *Ta’rīkh ar-rusul* I, p. 2254.

²¹ In the deputation among others and besides the Persian governor there appeared one with the name ‘Abd al Masīh, is a Christian name.

²² 631 A. D. when Khālīd ibn al-Walīd was sent by Muhammad to call the Christians in Naḡrān to Islam carrying the threat of war in case of their refusal. However, only some accepted Islam. A delegation was sent to Muhammad and an agreement was then worked out «until God comes with his command», IBN HISHAM, p. 958ff.

²³ «The people of Naḡrān and their dependants enjoy the protection of God and Muhammad for their life, their religion, their land, and property, for their churches and the practice of their religion — no bishop or monk or *wāqif* will be forced to give up his position — and for all that is in their hand, little or much, provided it be not the product of usury or blood money from heathen times».

²⁴ However, Muhammad broke the promises he had given to these Christians and ordered that «there shall be no other faiths other than Islam» within the Arabian peninsula. ‘Umar did expel the Christians from Naḡrān. However, provision had been made for them, they were offered land in exchange in Syria or Iraq according to their choice. The majority of these Christians settled down in the vicinity of Kufa. BALĀDHURĪ, *Futūh al-buldān*, p. 66.

emerged during the course of the conquest were settled quite pragmatically, using the treaty with Nağrān as a precedent.

In Damascus, as we have already seen, the bishop, who had entered into secret negotiations with the Arab commander, obtained from him the following treaty: «This is what Khālīd ibn al-Walīd grants to the people of Damascus: when he enters it he will give them security for their lives and goods and churches; the wall of the city will not be destroyed and none of their houses will be occupied; for this they have the covenant of God, the pledge of the apostle of God and of the caliphs and the believers; no molestation will be offered them if they pay the *jizya*»²⁵.

The people of Ĥimṣ (Emesa) capitulated by the treaty similar to the treaty made with Damascus²⁶.

The case of Edessa is typical. Edessa capitulated on the basis of the same condition: the cathedral, its surroundings and its property was guaranteed, with the exception that no new churches were to be built and that the inhabitants were obliged to give assistance to the Arab against their enemies²⁷.

Protection for monks, their monasteries and their lives in the cells and hermitages occasionally was included in the treaties made by the Arabs — following the prototype in Nağrān. As was already said, in the treaty with the Christians in Nağrān, it was stated that no monk was to be driven out of his rank nor his activities hindered²⁸. In the treaties with Bishop Sophronios of Jerusalem monks and nuns wherever they may be are included among the clerics and are to receive a full security for their activities from the Arabs²⁹. Thus according to the treaties full freedom was given the ascetics, monks and hermits as well as for the continuation of life in the monasteries.

²⁵ BALĀDHURĪ, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 121. Wāqīdī says that he had actually seen this document. He also offers an explanation why the date of this document is several months later than the capitulation of Damascus. He says that when the document was written it had no date. Later when the bishop renewed the treaty, all the formalities regarding the date and the signatures were completed. *Ibid.*, p. 123. *Jizya* is the only term to appear in the treaties which were concluded by Muhammad and the military commanders in Syria and Mesopotamia and Persia. In practice the term meant both a poll tax and a land tax. The first was designed as «protection», a tax ensuring safety of life, property and freedom of worship. It was introduced by the Arabs in the interest of conquest and therefore is their invention. The second was an ordinary type of revenue.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130ff.; EUTYCHIUS, *Annales*, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 16.

²⁷ BALĀDHURĪ, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 174.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²⁹ *Senad, das ist Vertragsurkunde*, tr. HAMMER V, p. 68.

In the light of these sources, the Arabs promised protection for as long as the subjugated people accepted their rule and paid the tribute. So long as the Christians accepted these conditions, they were regarded as ordinary subjects; their status scarcely differed in any practical particular from that of the Arabs themselves. That which was established under the new rulers in the Christian territories, according to all these treaties in general, fostered a peaceful coexistence with the conquered inhabitants. The treaties are marked by the spirit of religious tolerance. That is particularly the case with the ordinances given by 'Umar. From the perspective of the Christian sources, he is even pictured as very friendly towards the Christians. Even in his last ordinances, he recommends the subjugated people to the care of his successor.

While the general character of the treaties with the Christians must be regarded as friendly and benevolent, the attitude toward Christian Arabs, however, was more inflexible. Treaties with them were more severe³⁰, forbidding the education of their children in the Christian spirit and assigning a double tribute³¹. 'Umar is reported to have said that they were allowed neither to raise their children in the Christian tradition nor to hinder anyone from embracing Islam³².

As a result of these operative factors during these epoch-making events, there was created an entirely new structure for the religious communities in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia³³. The Monophysites, the orthodox Christians and the Nestorians were given the same status, the same impositions and also the same privileges.

However, in order to avoid a wrong impression of the course of the conquest, an additional comment is necessary. Not all of the inhabitants escaped the sufferings and calamities of war in the way already described. While the people in the towns, who normally surrendered by capitulation, managed to secure their lives and properties, the inhabitants in the countryside did not have such an avenue of escape. They were exposed to the ravages of the war³⁴.

³⁰ BALĀDHURĪ, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 181f.

³¹ YA'QOUB, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, p. 183f.

³² ṬABARĪ, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul* I, V, p. 2509.

³³ There were two forms of taxation: the *jizya* or the poll tax for the Christians namely a dinar per annum on each man, woman and children excluded; the other is the *kharaj* or the land tax which was obligatory for Christian as well as Moslem subjects. *Jizya* was also understood as a substitute for military service, FATTAL, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans*, p. 266ff.

³⁴ That which Balādhurī reports about Raqqa is instructive; the capitulation treaty was made for the town but the Arabs declared that the land belonged to them as conquered property and imposed the *kharaj* tax on the produce of the land.

Before this section is concluded, another aspect needs to be illuminated, an aspect the immense consequences of which could hardly be fully appreciated at the time. Islam appeared on the scene not only as a political power but also as a religious power, just at the time when Christianity among the Arabs was making increasingly greater inroads, opening up greater hopes for its mission in the future. Now suddenly a new page was turned, a new direction abruptly taken. The first symptoms showed up soon enough — people began to embrace Islam. The Arabs, in general, went over to Islam very easily and without much hesitation. The Ghassan Arabs³⁵ swiftly made their move in this direction. Other tribes soon followed suit. While certain nomad tribes in Mesopotamia resisted a little longer, these, too, embraced Islam³⁶. But this movement did not affect only the Arabs. It also affected the Syrians. The correspondence of Iṣḥāq III shows the Nestorian patriarch facing sad results: the new religion from Arabia had ripped its first gaps into his flock³⁷ and that without suppression and violence³⁸. Although that which Iṣḥāq presents cannot be generalized, we must reckon with the fact that the picture in many a place soon after the invasion changed in favor of Islam. It is clear that we do not need to believe everything related by Wākidī³⁹, however, it remains an undeniable fact that the beginnings of the trend towards Arabization began as a result of the Islamic conquest — a process that looked forward to a great future.

3. MONASTICISM DURING THE PERIOD OF INVASION

After this introduction, necessary for the understanding of the new situation, it is time to turn to the main issue, namely, the fate of monasticism during the period of the Islamic invasion.

As already said, the attitude of the Arabs towards the ascetics and monks was more favorable than that towards the Christians, following the position taken by Muhammad¹. That revered attitude could not entirely be forgotten when the armies of the Arabs began to move.

³⁵ See page 235ff.

³⁶ MUIR, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, p. 177.

³⁷ *Liber epistularum*, ed. DUVAL, p. 251.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167, 179f., 192.

³⁹ No doubt it is an exaggeration when he tells us that in Maipherqat the majority of the inhabitants embraced Islam.

¹ See page 303f.

Among the military leaders at least there was an awareness of the fact that Muhammad himself had given a prescript for the friendly treatment of monks. It is significant that this has been recorded in Christian sources². According to an anonymous Syrian chronicle, Abū Bakr ordered his troops in no way to harm the monks, nor to drive the stylites from their columns, nor to cause mischief to the monks in other ways because they had left the world and devoted themselves to the service of God³. It is instructive that these words appear in a Christian chronicle. A similar order from the lips of Abū Bakr, with reference to Syria, also appears to the effect that, are there Christian anchorites living in their hermitages where they practice their Christian faith, being far removed from the business of the world, they are not to be attacked nor are any of them to suffer injustice or vexation⁴. The tradition preserved in Termidī repeats the same: when Abū Bakr sent his troops to Syria, he instructed them about the people, who had enclosed themselves in cells, being anchorites whom they would come across; these ascetics were to be left in peace since only religious motives ruled their lives⁵.

Given such premises, it is understandable that among the Christians there were many monks who sympathized with the Arabs. Occasionally we hear reports of their active involvement in the interest of the Arab invaders. According to Wākidī, Szur was delivered over to the Arabs by the monk Misa of Mardin⁶. It is related in Ṭabarī, in connection with the conquest of Hira, that the monks came from the town in their full monastic garb and appeared in the front of the Arab army as intermediaries⁷. Makrizi tells of thousands of monks who went out to greet the caliph's general and his troops⁸.

Of course, it would be much too superficial to depend upon such reports and traditions as if no sufferings or losses had occurred.

² BAR PENKAYÉ, *Sources syriaques*, éd. MINGANA I, p. 141, 175.

³ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.*, ed. CHABOT I, p. 240.

⁴ ṬABARĪ, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul* I, p. 2564.

⁵ MUHAMMAD BEN ALI-AL-TERMIDĪ NAWADIR, *al-usul*, p. 9. When the same source adds that the invaders will find also those upon whom Satan has put a sign on their heads, that they must be beheaded, it is not clear whether it means monks or priests. Nowhere do we learn about the distinction between the anchorites and monks living in the monasteries. It is a completely isolated tradition and we do not learn of such hostility against the Christians elsewhere.

⁶ *Kitab al-Maghari*, p. 160f.

⁷ About Hira, see page 248.

⁸ This took place in the year 643 in the desert of Nitria; «Les couvents des chrétiens», tr. LEROY, p. 198f.

Although the aims of the conquest and the instructions given by the caliph and the generals were humane⁹, which, in addition, were widely known¹⁰ — based, of course, on calculations to obtain maximum results from the Christian people — suffering and calamities could not be always avoided. As has already been said, the inhabitants living in the towns found themselves in a better situation when they capitulated than the inhabitants living in the countryside who were exposed to the ravages of war. Thus temporary losses by pillage and plunder were unavoidable. The habitual and deep seated cruelty of the Arabs, which found satisfaction in the cutting down of trees and of ravaging plantations¹¹ — a cruelty also exhibited by their women who cut off the noses and ears of the fallen victims¹² — could not always be controlled. That explains why the various reports could and did diverge from each other. For instance, it is reported of a stylite at Dārā to whom the inhabitants came for advice at the time of the invasion that he believed resistance to be better than all the worship services, giving an example by his own actions¹³. Ṭabarī tells us, in connection with the siege of Sus, that the Arabs also saw among the fighters on the wall monks who were very bellicose in their behavior¹⁴.

The military actions, no doubt, brought suffering and devastation to the Christian communities, if not in the extent as in Egypt¹⁵. A number of places in Syria and Mesopotamia were thoroughly ravaged. Theophanes reports that towns on a line from Mopsvestia to Armenia were, during this period, left without inhabitants¹⁶. While we cannot control possible exaggerations by a Byzantine author, we must reckon with a number of devastated areas within which monasticism, too, must have seriously affected. According to an Arab author, Raqqā and certain other places

⁹ JUYNBOLL, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 340f.

¹⁰ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.*, ed. CHABOT I, p. 240.

¹¹ WAKIDI, *Kitab al-Maghari*, p. 163.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹³ Wakidi tells us that he descended from his column and spread propaganda through the churches and monasteries. Then he went to Nisibis, living in no church or monastery and working also in the surroundings. Yet the people had a different opinion — Nisibis fell without fighting.

¹⁴ ṬABARĪ, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul* I, p. 2564f.

¹⁵ Upon reading the chronicle by John of Nikiou, one receives an impression that the Arabs have ravaged Egypt much more savagely, JEAN DE NIKIOU, *Chronique*, ed. ZOTENBERG, p. 560, 562, 569, 577ff. About the monasteries there, see *Synaxarium Alexandrium*, ed. FORGET.

¹⁶ *Chronographia*, ed. DE BOOR I, p. 363.

were so devastated that they were left almost bereft of inhabitants¹⁷. A contemporary Syrian chronicle bears the trustworthy remark on its title page that Hims and many villages were devastated¹⁸. Archaeologists, too, have received the impression that many settlements may not have reached their level of floration¹⁹ in the wake of the Arab invasion. However, it is not always possible to determine to whose account these devastations must be laid in each instance. That an important share falls to the Arabs is beyond doubt. But certainly not all. Michael Syrus has used sources which have laid much of the guilt at the door of the Byzantines²⁰ and an anonymous chronicle in Syriac also tells us about deeds of the Byzantines which the «tongue cannot relate»²¹.

Whatever the exact circumstances may have been, monasticism did not survive the war situation without suffering. The catastrophe, in particular, struck monasteries which belonged to Arab Christians. Due to a hardened policy towards Arab Christians, monks, too, shared their fate. Ṭabarī tells us that the Christian Arabs in Gezira did not want to embrace the Islam and were prepared to suffer. As a result, one part of the monks «along with their cells and huts»²² left the country to the territory of Byzantium²³. The floration of monasteries and monasticism in this area was dealt a mortal blow²⁴.

But Syrian monasticism also suffered loss. Reports tell us about the monasteries which became victims of destruction²⁵ and about others which the Arabs had taken by force, who also did not shrink from keeping them as the booty of war²⁶. The monks were completely helpless, too, when the Byzantines occupied their monasteries and made them into places of resistance²⁷.

Cases also occurred where the Arabs dealt brutally with ascetics and monks. An anonymous chronicle in Syriac tells us that, at the Mount of Mardē, they killed many monks and eminent ascetics and still more at a

¹⁷ AL-RUKAIYAT, *Diwan*, ed. RHODOKANAKIS, p. 222.

¹⁸ WRIGHT, *Catalogue* I, p. 65f.

¹⁹ BUTLER, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, p. 235.

²⁰ *Chronique* II, p. 422, 424.

²¹ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* I, p. 250.

²² كَاتِبِي, DOZY, *Supplement* II, p. 401.

²³ ṬABARĪ, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul* I, V, p. 2507.

²⁴ *Historia anteislamica*, ed. FLEISCHER, p. 129.

²⁵ *Histoire nestorienne*, ed. SCHER, p. 470.

²⁶ AL-MAKIN, *Historia Saracenica*, tr. ERPENIUS, p. 77.

²⁷ *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. BRUNS-KIRSCH, p. 108.

famous monastery on the Mount of Rēš'ainā²⁸. Whether these monks were spies for the Persians as mentioned in Michael Syrus²⁹, must remain open. The Monastery of Qedar is also reported to have suffered severely. A company of monks was compelled to depart and to found a new monastery near Qalliniqos³⁰. It is reported that the Arabs did not even respect the Monastery of Šem'on the Stylite. Aware of the fact that a great festival was to be held in the monastery, they appeared on the scene and took many pilgrims together with their wives and children as prisoners³¹. We also have reports about the profanation of the monasteries here and there by the authors who were not hostile in attitude towards the Arabs³². Moreover, Arab authors have made no secret of the fact that in the course of the war, monasteries, too, were destroyed³³. These were phenomena which were unavoidable in the framework of military activities.

In general, one must take into account a limited measure of loss. In this connection, another observation is in order. It is instructive that in such centers as Harrān, Raqqā, Edessa, Nisibis, Mosul, and Bālād in Syria and Mesopotamia, so rich in monastic communities, fell into the hands of the Arabs without military engagements³⁴. The sufferings and the losses of the monasteries and the calamities which struck monasticism could not be so very great, for soon after the invasion, but still under fresh impressions of the events, a Syrian author could write that the Arabs have become masters under God, had not fought against the Christian religion, but defended it, respecting monks and monasteries as well as churches³⁵. This author does not stand alone in his judgement; not much later another Syrian author states that the attitude of the Arabs towards the monks was such, that it was as if they had received an order from God to hold monasticism in honor and esteem³⁶.

XII. CONDITIONS DURING THE ERA OF THE Umayyads

1. INTRODUCTION

As we have already seen, Abū Bakr ordered his troops to conclude treaties with every tribe and settlement and to assure them of life according to their customs and traditions which they had followed until then, and to assure the retention of their full religious life¹. The protection given to the Christians was also given to the Jews whose synagogues were to function in the same way as the religious and cultic traditions of the inhabitants of Mah Bahzīdān; they were not to be compelled to embrace another religion and no difficulties were to be put in their way to observe their religion². Even at the time of al-Farisi there was no place or town in Persia where the fire altars were missing³.

Before proceeding further, a particular question must be brought up. It concerns the so-called covenant of 'Umar.

The so-called covenant of 'Umar appears in various forms in many sources by the Arab authors. The terms included in these documents go far beyond the stipulations found in the treaties of capitulation. One of those in very elaborated form appears in Hamadani⁴. Its expansions and accretions leave on with the impression that this document clearly must belong to a different and much later time, to a time when practical life raised a number of problems which necessitated the imposition of restrictions. The same seems to be the case with the six stipulations and another half dozen desired additional stipulations formulated in Mawerdi⁵. In other words, it is patent that the number of restrictions had been growing with the passage of time. These restrictions concern ecclesiastical buildings⁶, worship⁷, hair and dress⁸, housing⁹, gatherings

²⁸ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.*, I, p. 245; cf. *Liber calipharum*, ed. LAND I, p. 116.

²⁹ *Chronique* II, p. 419.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. BRUNS-KIRSCH, p. 106.

³² *Histoire nestorienne*, éd. SCHER, p. 470.

³³ CHAZI IBN AL-WASITI, *An Answer to the Dhimmis*, tr. GOTTHEIL, p. 422.

³⁴ TABARĪ, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul* I, V, p. 2506f.

³⁵ ISO'YAHB, *Liber epistularum*, ed. DUVAL, p. 182.

³⁶ BAR PENKAYĒ, *Sources syriaques*, éd. MINGANA I, p. 141.

¹ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.*, ed. CHABOT I, p. 240.

² TABARĪ, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul*, I, V, p. 2633.

³ AL-FARISI, *Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. DE GOEJE, p. 58.

⁴ *Thesaurus Regum auctore Seiid*, ALI HAMADANENSI, tr. ROSENMÜLLER I, p. 18f.

⁵ AL-MAWERDI, *Traité de droit public musulman*, tr. OSTROROG, p. 39.

⁶ Not to show a cross on the churches.

⁷ Beating the *nākūs* gently was all that was allowed; it was also forbidden to raise voices in chanting.

⁸ To cut the hair in the front. To tie the *zunnār* around the waist; it was not allowed

of the Christians in public¹⁰, the use of Quran¹¹ and the special obligations of Christians towards the Arabs¹². One of its forms appears as a letter from 'Umar. In addition to other humiliating restrictions, the stipulation not to build a church, monastery, hermitage, or cell, nor to repair those which had become dilapidated is included¹³. Another version of such a document appears in a letter sent to Abu 'Ubaida, the chief commander in Syria. Among other restrictions, this letter includes the stipulation «not to build in Damascus and its environs a church, monastery, chapel, monk hermitages, not to repair what is dilapidated»¹⁴.

Upon critical examination, one must conclude that the so-called covenant of 'Umar is spurious¹⁵ and cannot be the work of 'Umar¹⁶ but must be regarded as a fabrication produced much later¹⁷.

However, one opinion which comes up again and again, and it seems to be venerable: «In any town founded by the Arabs, Christians may not build a church, nor beat the *nākūs* ... but in any founded by foreigners, and captured by the Arabs, where they surrendered, they may do these things». Whether this point of view, however, goes to the earliest times is not clear.

In the light of all the trustworthy and authentic historical documents, the Arab invasion must be assessed as a military occupation which left much in the occupied lands completely untouched. Of course, the magnanimous attitude of the Arabs was not without its mundane aspect. Behind it there stood the economic political aim — obtaining the tribute. In Muslim eyes, the satisfaction gained from financial gains was still

anyone to resemble a Muslim in dress and appearance; nor was the riding upon saddles permitted.

⁹ The houses of the Christians were not allowed to be taller than those belonging to Arabs.

¹⁰ It was not permitted them to assemble in any of the quarters of the Arabs nor in their presence.

¹¹ It was forbidden to learn the Quran or to teach it to children.

¹² Prohibited was any more to hinder any Arab from stopping in the church by night and day; there was an obligation to entertain them for three days.

¹³ IBN 'ASAKIR, *History* I, p. 178.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, p. 149.

¹⁵ DE GOEJE, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, p. 143f.; CAETANI, *Annali dell'Islam* III, p. 957ff.; MUIR, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, p. 139.

¹⁶ TRITTON, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*, p. 10ff.

¹⁷ «Some of its provisions seem to have been enacted first by 'Umar II, which may have helped the attribution of it to his greater namesake», *ibid.*, p. 233.

worth more than the coming over of masses into Islam for that would only increase the number of those entitled for pensions.

As it happened, most of the change in the land only occurred at the highest level of the occupation power. The facts speak for themselves. Insofar as the system of internal administration was concerned, there were practically no changes. The actual work in government offices was continued by the same personnel. The financial apparatus operated by the Byzantine, Jewish and Persian officials, and conducted in Greek and Persian, continued for many years. In the same way were the affairs of the churches left under the control of their respective leadership. They, too, could continue to conduct their affairs so long as the subjugated people accepted the rule of the Arabs and paid the taxes. With the exception of the payment of tribute, the new conquerors exacted no new demands from their subjugated inhabitants.

While the clergy was not exempted from the poll tax, the monks who depended upon the charity of the people were exempted in the same way as profane beggars¹⁸. As long as the Christians paid the tribute, they were regarded as ordinary subjects and their status scarcely differed from that of the Arabs themselves. The atmosphere thus created was marked by the spirit of religious tolerance. Sometime this even evoked admiration. This is evident, for example, in a story told of Khālid al-Kasri: when he built a church for his mother in Kufa, it was just behind the wall of the mosque, and when the *nākūs* was beaten as an invitation for worship, the loud chanting even drowned out the voice of the imam¹⁹.

Under the first Umayyads, the new potentates were on fairly good terms with the subjugated people. Arab historians revelled in the telling of accounts and stories about the tolerance and magnanimity of the conquerors. It was a period of peaceful coexistence with the conquered inhabitants. Life in the monasteries and churches was left intact as it was in the villages and settlements. Not only did the Arab invasion leave Christian culture in general untouched, but it also gave new opportunities for the future. All this must be regarded as a very magnanimous approach on the part of a religion which had achieved such splendid victories within so short a time. For Christians, all this meant immense

¹⁸ Since monasteries were land owners, they were obliged to pay the land tax.

¹⁹ IBN KHALLIKĀN, *The Biographical Dictionary* I, p. 212.

²⁰ SPULER, «Die westsyrische Kirche», p. 170ff. HAGE, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche*.

gain. After some suffering and loss, unavoidable in war actions, a new epoch was opened up for the Christian communities, one allowing them time to heal their wounds and the recovery of their life²¹.

Even more can be said. In the wake of these epoch-making events, a completely new atmosphere for the Christian communities was evoked. A situation was created in which the Monophysites, the orthodox Christians and the Nestorians were given the same status, with the same impositions and with the same privileges. This must be assessed as a completely new era for the Christians in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. They could now, for the first time, enjoy a freedom and tolerance such as they had never known of under their former rulers and masters. The hard-pressed and persecuted Monophysites in particular, under the masters, attained a degree of religious enfranchisement which they had never enjoyed. The new status of the Monophysite church made it possible for the monasteries to expand their network even beyond the Syrian border into the Persian territory. In this process it could be allowed to celebrate excellent moments of progress.

At the beginning of the Umayyad period, a prophecy — put on the lips of Rabban Sargis — may as a *vaticinium ex eventu* be used by way of illustration. According to it, after the Arabs have subjugated the lands and have captured the towns, peace and well-being would come into the world²². The same judgement is recorded in the chronicle of Seert: as soon as the time of invasion had past and the rule of the Arabs had begun consolidation, a real well-being took place²³. Other sources reflect similar feelings, that, indeed, with the Arabs a new and peaceful epoch had emerged. Some decades later, Jōhannān bar Penkayē, in describing the period of Caliph Mo'āwia, used words of fulsome praise for the times which had arrived. He writes that peace now ruled the world, such peace as had never been heard or seen since the time of the fathers and the forefathers²⁴. It must be affirmed once again that such an assessment was not exaggerated. Over wide areas in which endless raids, incursions, military actions and wars had so frequently reduced life into ruins and ashes, there now extended peace and tranquility under stable rule. The effects, indeed, were far-reaching; the preservation of spiritual, social

²¹ Christian legislative order and jurisdictional system was recognized by the Arabs, EDELBY, «L'autonomie législative des chrétiens», p. 323.

²² «A Christian Bahira Legend», ed. GOTTHEIL, p. 217.

²³ *Histoire nestorienne*, éd. SCHER, p. 470, cf. p. 628.

²⁴ *Sources syriaques*, éd. MINGANA I, p. 147.

and cultural life was an immense gain. The progress in economic strength²⁵, the enlivening of cultural exchange and the development of commerce did not only materialize, but helped also to foster spiritual values. It is clear that monasticism, too, received a benefit under such conditions.

2. MONASTICISM UNDER THE FIRST CALIPHS

As has already been mentioned, monasticism certainly experienced losses and monasteries were destroyed during the course of military action, although one ought not to set these losses at too high a figure. The fate of the Monastery of Bar Ṭūrā during these epoch-making times has been put into the prophecy of Yaunan, the founder of the monastery. According to his words, the Arabs would come and the monastery would be destroyed in the vortex of military operations but after seven years there would once again be peace and his scattered companions would return back to the same monastery after which the community would establish itself once again¹. This episode conjures up the situation — whenever inmates of monastic communities were compelled to leave, they returned after a time to their monasteries to build up their life again. If their monastery was no longer intact, it was restored. This was the way in which new sanctuaries began to emerge.

This evolving life is also reflected in the epigraphic materials. New ecclesiastical buildings were erected in different places, some of which are even dated, having been built in the years 633², 641³ and 652⁴ as evidenced by the inscriptions. Sama or Sameh, southwest of Boşra⁵ bears the date 646 on the lintel⁶. That is also how new monasteries were built even though they do not appear in the light of the epigraphic materials.

In addition to the monasteries already introduced, others, which in particular deserve acknowledgment, need to be noted.

In the first instance, it should be reiterated⁷ that the monastic

²⁵ AS-SUYUTI, *History of the Caliphs*, tr. JARRETT, p. 142.

¹ *Histoire nestorienne*, éd. SCHER, p. 470.

² WADDINGTON, *Inscriptions grecques*, nr. 1997.

³ *Ibid.*, nr. 2294.

⁴ *Dict. Hist. Géogr. Eccl.* III, p. 1183.

⁵ DUSSAUD, *Mission*, nr. 151.

⁶ *Princeton University Expedition*, nr. 27.

⁷ See page 307ff.

community had suffered during the Islamic invasion; monks suspected of being spies of the Persians were killed by the Arabs. One monastery which had experienced severe suffering cannot be omitted from the list. The catastrophe to which reference is made is the one which descended upon the Monastery of Qedar and that of Benātā in the region of Mardin⁸. It is somewhat gratifying to learn that these catastrophes did not mean the end for these monasteries. These monks who survived the massacre and the destruction founded new monasteries, namely the Monastery of Bet Resyar and the Monastery of Estōnā⁹, albeit at different loci.

Another monastery, one which has secured its reputation in connection with the work of the Syriac Massorah, also cannot be passed over, namely, the Monastery of Qarqaphtā. This monastic center played a very important role in fixing the Syriac Masoretic traditions¹⁰. It was located southwest of Mardin at the river of Ḥabūr¹¹, not far from Reš'ainā at the town of Magdal¹². The founder of this monastery was a certain Šem'ōn. The exact time that this monastery came into existence is not known, but it must have taken place at the beginning of the rule of the Umayyads¹³. It should also be added that many metropolitans and bishops were elected from this monastic community¹⁴. But this monastery has not only furnished ecclesiastical dignitaries, it has also given its share of martyrs, martyrs who have added to the lustre and fame of this monastic community. It is very regrettable that nothing is known about the circumstances of these martyrs¹⁵.

Finally, a monastery connected with a martyr from the ranks of Arab Christians merits a place. This monastery has to do with a victim of the tribe of Taghlib. Upon the order of the emir of Mesopotamia, Muhammad b. Marwān, pressure was put on Mu'ād, the chieftain of the tribe, to become an apostate and to accept Islam. Mu'ād, however, remained firm and therefore had to suffer martyrdom¹⁶. The actions of violence had been initiated in the year 707, beginning with the tribe of the

⁸ *Chronica minora*, ed. BROOKS, p. 148; MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronicon* II, p. 419.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 419.

¹⁰ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 259.

¹¹ HOFFMANN, *ZDMG* XXXII, p. 745.

¹² SMITH, *Thesaurus syriacus*, col. 3762.

¹³ BARSON, *Histoire*, p. 47.

¹⁴ ARMALET, *Les couvents*, p. 762.

¹⁵ SLIBA, *Le martyrologe*, p. 163.

¹⁶ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique* II, p. 481.

Taghlibites; his martyrdom saved the tribe for a time before new reprisals were initiated. Over the tomb of the martyr, a monastery as a memorial of this blood-witness was established by Eustathios of Dārā¹⁷. The exact time of its foundation is not known but, according to all indications, that must have taken place at the beginning of the eighth century.

Additional information comes from the eastern regions. It is said about the Monastery of Heditā that it was built under the rule of Catholicos Ammeh¹⁸. That means that the monastery was built during the years 644-647, that is to say, soon after the Islamic invasion.

The monastery founded by Aphnimaran¹⁹ near Mosul is reported to have been erected under Catholicos Gīwargī I, that is, between the years 661 and 680. Additional interesting information about the founding of monasteries comes from the synod held in the year 676 under the same catholicos. The record of it includes an important text which throws bright light upon the history of the founding of the new monasteries. These new monasteries were erected on the countryside as well as in towns²⁰. It happens that that information came up because of the irregularities which had taken place and which had to be rectified by the synod, namely that the founders of the monasteries, in their zeal and eagerness, had neglected to take the episcopal jurisdiction into account sufficiently when the monks as well as lay people in their building activities had proceeded on their own initiative²¹.

A very famous name in monasticism is that of Jōhannān Dailomāyā, and that gives us more than sufficient reason to speak of his monastery. Its foundation is reported to have taken place under Catholicos Henanīšō' I. This head of the eastern church ruled during the years 686/701²².

In the sources, there are accounts which point to the fact that during the earliest period of the Umayyads, Syrian monasticism in general had been the recipient of a generous attitude from the Arabs. Occasionally this must have developed into a very friendly relationship. Here we are reminded of a source which comes from the resolutions of Ja'qōb of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 481.

¹⁸ 'AMR, *De patriarchis nest. commentaria*, tr. GISMONDI II, p. 32.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁰ *Synodion orientale*, éd. CHABOT, p. 483.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² 'AMR, *De patriarchis nest. commentaria* II, p. 35.

Edessa. There one finds a question which records the fact certain Arab emirs treated the monks with respect and that the issue turned on the point whether leading persons of the monasteries who were invited to eat with them could do so²³. That such a question was submitted to the bishop is very instructive. One must infer that invitations were not as rare as one may otherwise have thought. In such an atmosphere the monks enjoyed friendly relations with the Arabs as did the Arabs with the Christians; given the peaceful climate, such friendly relationships expressed a mutual entertainment and hospitality developed in due course — more than was pleasing to the ecclesiastical dignitaries²⁴.

Another instructive case is to be found in sources having to do with East Syrians. In the history of the Monastery of Mār Sabrīšō', we are told that an Arab potentate entertained a reverent attitude towards Abbot Jōhannān, seeking contacts with him and coming to him²⁵. The same is said of Rabban Theodor²⁶. Such phenomena by no means need to be considered rare exceptions. For the development of monasticism, such an atmosphere evoked useful premises.

The period of the Umayyads was such that monasticism in retrospect could not do otherwise than to be grateful for the special privileges, such as letters of protection given to monasteries as well as to leading ascetics by the first caliphs. Thus the Syrian authors had good reasons for showering the first caliphs with praises for their magnanimity and friendliness²⁷.

3. THE FIRST SIGNS OF A CHANGING MOOD

That which has been said up to now does not remain valid for the entire period of the Umayyads. Certain reservations are still necessary for a final assessment of this era. Darker clouds appeared on the horizon sooner than expected, introducing a certain dissonance into the peaceful conditions. However, it must be said immediately that a sporadic and antagonistic outburst against the Christian communities was not at first the consequence of set policy but rather depended on the whim of a given caliph.

²³ See page 354.

²⁴ NAU, *Ancienne littérature canonique syriaque* III, p. 65f.

²⁵ *Histoire du couvent de Sabrīšō'*, éd. MINGANA, p. 198.

²⁶ *Histoire nestorienne*, p. 598f.

²⁷ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.*, I, 275.

Such a figure among the caliphs as Mo'āwia I, tolerant and liberal in his policy¹, who has been remembered as generous towards the Christians, particularly in connection with the rebuilding of the church of Edessa², made room for quite a number of very different characters. The rule of Caliph Walīd (705-715) was one of the first of this sort. He was a despotic and tyrannical ruler³, violent in nature⁴, who caused trouble to Christians who had become accustomed to tolerance and a friendly spirit. He interfered with the affairs of the churches⁵ and the Christians had to endure their first bitter experiences⁶. Still more reckless was 'Umar II (717-720). New vexations for Christians were inaugurated under his rule. His legislation issued in a number of degrees containing humiliating regulations.

Perhaps the episode involving the cathedral of John the Baptist in Damascus⁷ serves best as an illustration of the changed mood. This episode characterizes the changed atmosphere. First of all, it must be said that the story about the dividing of the cathedral in Damascus into a Christian and a Muslim part is pure legend. No such peaceful decision regarding this famous sanctuary in Damascus occurred. Both caliphs Mo'āwia and 'Abd al-Malik attempted to take over the whole of the cathedral of John the Baptist. However, the Christians resisted and in the atmosphere of that time, they succeeded. Even though the caliphs then offered large sums of money to buy the cathedral, the Christians remained adamant in their stand and they were successful. Nothing happened with regard to the status of the cathedral and they continued to worship there. Then Caliph al-Walīd tried once more to buy the cathedral. When he failed, he lost his temper and resorted to force. He took it by force and transferred the famous sanctuary into a mosque⁸. And so it passed into Arab hands in the aftermath of bickerings and

¹ LAMMENS, «Études sur le règne du calife Omayyade Mo'awia I», p. 256ff.

² In the year 679-80 a part of the great church in Edessa collapsed due to an earthquake. Caliph Mo'awia I gave the order for its rebuilding. *Chronicon ad. ann. 1234 pert.* I, p. 288; *Chronica minora*, p. 231.

³ AS-SUYUTI, *History of the Caliphs*, p. 228.

⁴ One day the noise of the *nākūs* so annoyed him that he ordered the church destroyed; MAS'UDI, *Murūj udh-dhahab* V, p. 381.

⁵ When the patriarch of Antioch died, he refused to appoint his successor; SEVERUS BEN EL-MOQAFFA, *Historia patriarcharum Alexandr.*, ed. SEYBOLD, p. 133.

⁶ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* I, p. 299.

⁷ *Géographie d'Aboulfēda*, tr. GUYARD II, 2, 8.

⁸ LAMMENS, «Le calife Walīd et le partage de la mosquée des Omayyades à Damas», in: *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, p. 269ff.

quarrels⁹. With this episode, cold winds began to blow into that atmosphere. The warmth of tolerance had to retreat.

4. THE IMPACT OF THE CHANGE

That Caliph al-Walid did not like monasticism appears in trustworthy sources; however, he did not give any particular orders to interfere in the life and activities of monasticism. Insofar as the sources are concerned, only occasional actions are reported. According to one episode recorded by Mas'udi, a serious hostile action did take place. He had heard the voice of a gong and asked about the location of the annoying noise; and upon hearing that there was a monastery in the vicinity, he ordered it to be demolished immediately¹.

The change in mood soon made itself felt as measures undertaken by Caliph 'Umar II show. These measures were designed to harass and to humiliate the Christians. He forbade Christians to imitate Arab dress² and ordered them to dress differently³. In connection with these measures, he was very inventive, imposing restrictions for riding⁴ and for the appearance of the Christians in public places⁵. He also forbade the use of the *nakus* and curtailed loud chanting in worship⁶. The reports in the sources about the conflicts which these decrees created indicate that the monasteries had become targets of criticism and action. Caliph 'Umar is reported to have commanded his governors not to destroy existing sanctuaries but not to allow the building of new ones⁷.

⁹ This was not the end of the quarrels. When 'Umar b. Abd al-'Aziz came to power, the Christians complained again. His verdict was: if this was one of the 15 churches included in the treaty then its freedom was guaranteed, no one had any right to harm it. The caliph ordered to return the church to the Christians. Then the Arabs started a rebellion protesting that their place of worship could not be transformed into a church again. In that complicated situation a compromise was finally reached — the Christians received churches in the suburbs in compensation. Balādhurī gives a full account of these events.

¹ MAS'UDĪ, *Les prairies d'or*, tr. DE MEYNARD V, p. 381; *Eutychii patriarchae Alexandrini annales*, ed. ZAYYAT II, p. 372.

² BAR 'EBRĀYĀ, *Chronicon eccl.* II, p. 117.

³ He prescribed to the Christians to wear a special girdle and to cut the front hair short.

⁴ He forbade them to use riding saddles on horses but only to use pack-saddles; *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* I, p. 307.

⁵ He forbade them to appear in public unless they had cut the forelock and wore girdles of leather. IBN 'ASĀKIR, *History* I, p. 180.

⁶ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* I, p. 307.

⁷ ṬABARĪ, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul* II, p. 137f.

New and dissonant trends were thus introduced into the up to now friendly relationships. During the following decades, the treatment of the Christians exhibits contradictions obviously caused by the mood of the potentates. It is a fact that sanctuaries were taken by force and transformed into mosques. However, it is also true that new sanctuaries were erected even in the towns which were founded by the Arabs, such as Fustat and Basra.

Such discordant winds would all too easily provoke feelings of antagonism. Occasional outbursts of hatred and threats have left noticeable traces in the sources. When al-Asbagh visited a monastery in Halwān, he saw a picture of the Madonna, spat on it and upbraided the community, saying: «If I find an opportunity, I will blot out the Christians from this province»⁸.

Such a change of mind on the part of some caliphs must have invited trouble from smaller potentates who quickly read the direction of the wind. Incidents began to appear more and more frequently. In Iraq, Governor Jusuf b. 'Umar displayed obstinacy and spitefulness towards the Christians⁹. His successor, Haddāz (694-714) was even more reckless, indeed, to such a degree that later Arab authors spoke of his deeds with scorn and disdain¹⁰. As a result of his undertakings, people fled from the provinces¹¹ and economic conditions there were devastated within a short time¹². According to an account preserved in a reliable source during the building of Wasit, he ordered material for the erection of his residence to be taken from the demolished buildings of the settlements. Among these, the Monastery of Mār Sargīs¹³ is listed.

It is to be reckoned that under such capricious local potentates, monasticism, too, occasionally had to experience its share of vexations. From such oriental despots, with their extravagant needs and their impulses to suppress their subjects¹⁴, no one was safe. Troubles more commonly appeared as the monasteries felt the insatiable greed of the oriental potentates. Time after time the monasteries were compelled to

⁸ SEVERUS IBN AL-MOQAFFA, *Historia patriarcharum Alexandr.*, p. 134.

⁹ MARI, *De patriarchis nest. commentaria* I, p. 58.

¹⁰ *al-Gazzālī's Buch vom Gottesvertrauen*, tr. VON WEHR, p. 90.

¹¹ *Vie d'al-Hadjdjad ibn Yousof*, ed. PÉRIER, p. 316.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

¹³ *Mu'jam al-buldān* IV, p. 883.

¹⁴ It is reported about an emir in Mesopotamia in 722/3 who besides the economic reprisals loved inquisition, finding joy in cutting beards by force, *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* I, p. 309.

satisfy the uncontrollable urges of these rulers. Time after time monasteries had to help to quench the burning hunger for money. Under Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705), for example, a sum of money was demanded from Catholicos Henanišō'. In order to meet the demand for this huge sum of money, the monasteries, too, had to raise their share; to do so, they had to sell their precious vessels¹⁵.

The needs of the caliphs for money grew steadily and they grasped for ever new means of taxation. The situation of the Christians gradually began to worsen. New troubles were inaugurated with the appearance of land surveyors and enumerators of animals¹⁶ whose activities announced the coming of new financial obligations. All kinds of pretexts were employed to obtain the money the caliphs needed. Typical is an episode recorded in the Maronite chronicle. When in a doctrinal disputation, the Monophysite bishops Theodor and Sebekt in Damascus before Caliph Mo'awia lost their case to the Maronites, the caliph quickly utilized the occasion to demand a huge sum of money from the Monophysites, namely, 20,000 dinars as the price of leaving them in peace — according to his clever idea that the Maronite church would not be allowed to persecute them. This was not all. Given his inventiveness, he made this lump sum a continual obligation upon the Monophysite bishops, to be paid annually to the caliph. The Monophysite patriarch had no alternative but to put a tax on all monks and nuns, as well as all the members of his church. Once again, these institutions had to suffer because the tax had to be divided between the monasteries and convents of the nuns¹⁷.

Such a spirit was contagious. The local potentates swiftly adopted whatever additional sources for income commanded themselves. When Abbot Išō'yahb of the Monastery of Bēt Abē demolished the church of the monastery in order to replace it with a new one, the governor of Mosul was quick to exploit the opportunity and to demand of the monastery a sum of 15,000 dirhems¹⁸.

5. MONASTICISM UNDER THE LAST OF THE Umayyads

Regardless of some changes in the atmosphere, monasticism continued its life, revealing a strength to survive. Indeed, not even was expansion of

¹⁵ AMR, *De patriarchis nest. commentaria*, p. 34.

¹⁶ *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, éd. CHABOT, p. 10.

¹⁷ *Chronicon maroniticum*, p. 55.

¹⁸ THOMAS OF MARGA, *The Book of Governors*, ed. BUDGE I, p. 206.

the network of monastic establishments brought to a stop. This comes to the fore in the history of the most outstanding founders of the monasteries and their monastic establishments.

First of all, a case connected with a very famous name may serve as an illustration. This has to do with Theodōtā, bishop of Amid, formerly a monk, who was elevated to the episcopal see of Amid. The discovery of his biography has resuscitated this dignitary, this unknown author, from oblivion¹. This source has found its hiding place in a priceless corpus of biographies, and it is unique in its kind²: «The history, i.e. the victory of the holy Mār Theodōtā, bishop of the town of Amid», composed by Šem'ōn of Šemīšaṭ³. Here we are told that he first studied in the Monastery of Zuqnīn and in Qennešrē, the monastery in which he received his monastic garment. His renown was due to his severe ascetic practices and manners of mortification as well as his work in charity in the service of the poor and the destitute. He was consecrated by Patriarch Julyānā II⁴. From this biography we learn that his initiative, zeal and vigor in the affairs of the church were exemplary. He also founded a large monastery⁵. The location for the monastery is also given: it was near the village of Qalūq. It was still existing at the time that Dionysios of Tell Mahrē wrote his chronicle⁶. Centuries later, Jōhannān of Mardē selected the ruins of this famous monastery in order to restore them⁷. Bishop Theodōtā eventually resigned his episcopal duties and returned to monastic life; he retired to the region of Dārā, namely, the area between Dārā and Antioch where he erected a column. Inasmuch as Theodōtā resigned from his episcopal office and lived for a while the monastic life, dying⁸ on August 15, 698⁹, it must be concluded that the founding of his

¹ VÖÖBUS, «Discovery of an Unknown Syrian Author: Theodōtē of Amid».

² Ms. Damascus Patr. 12/18, fol. 59a-70b; Ms. Mardin Orth. 275, fol. 229a-287b, VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

³ VÖÖBUS, «Découverte de la biographie de Théodote d'Amid par Šem'ōn de Samosate», p. 39ff.

⁴ Patriarch Julyānā II ruled from 687 til 707/8, MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique IV*, p. 752, cf. III, p. 449.

⁵ See VÖÖBUS, «Découverte de la biographie», p. 39ff.

⁶ *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, éd. CHABOT, p. 20.

⁷ *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition II*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 203.

⁸ Fol. 69b.

⁹ The vita states explicitly that Theodōtā died when Julyānā was still in his patriarchal office which he held until 707/8. Then Nau's notice: «évêque Jacobite en 713, a quitté l'épiscopat pour se faire stylite», «*Martyrologes et ménologes orientaux*», p. 84, must be erroneous.

monastery had to take place soon after his consecration; at the earliest, this would have happened in the year 687.

Information which comes from the quarter of monumental inscriptions is particularly welcome. Pognon found in a village northwest of Edessa a row of cells carved into the rock face and a complex of ruins which were the remains of a once large monastery. Lucky chance has rescued the inscription which has preserved exact information about the founding of this monastery in the vicinity of the metropolis of Mesopotamia. It was founded in the year 1059 A. Gr., i.e. 747/8 A. D.¹⁰

For this period, too, the sources which emanate from east Syrian quarters flow more abundantly. The case of Gabriel of Kaškar is one which cannot be passed over. The reason is this, that in this eminent monastic representative we have to do with a very extraordinary founder of monasteries. It is reported that he founded as many as four monasteries. One was founded in Maḥōzē, in Bēt Garmai, the second in the vicinity of Tūrā Qūni. In this connection, the fact that this was a large monastery with a community comprised of nearly two hundred monks is added. The third monastery under the name of Gabbārē was erected in the region of Bēt Rušmē. The last monastery, named Mār Gabriel, was established near Mosul¹¹. It should be noted that the first monastery to be established is said, by the author, to be the final place for the founder. Here Mār Gabriel died in the year 1050 A. Gr., i.e. 738/9 A. D.

When we put the data scattered in the various documents and sources together, the result is this, that Syrian monasticism during the Umayyad period was not only satisfied with the former extent and network of the monastic establishments which it possessed before the time of the Islamic invasion, but also that it did not remain satisfied with that, nor with adjusting and repairing the old points of support. The sources show growth and expansion which in turn clearly demonstrates that new monasteries were needed. Monasticism must have felt itself to have enough strength to expand.

Further, our sources illumine conditions during the period of the Umayyads. The Arabs did not keenly follow up on the fulfillment of new trends which they had set up, namely, the prohibiting of the building of new monasteries. That the Arabs themselves annulled this prohibition — as we are told of Mār Gabriel who, after he became bishop, obtained

¹⁰ *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie*, p. 102.

¹¹ ISŌ'DENAH, *Le livre de la chasteté* §121, p. 276.

from 'Umar a diploma which allowed him to found and build churches and monasteries wherever he wished in the area from Tūr 'Abdīn up to Babel — that is unbelievable¹². Such a tradition, without, a doubt, belongs to the realm of sheer speculation. The truth is that the Arabs simply closed their eyes in certain cases of transgressions; it would surely not have remained unnoticed that new monasteries were erected not only in the countryside but also in the vicinity of the towns. Despite all of the deviations by some of the caliphs during this period, there nevertheless still was room for a spirit of tolerance. That spirit is the reason why the Umayyad period has been adjudged with such severe criticism by later Islamic authors who held that there had then been a neglect to take the religious obligations of Islam with the requisite seriousness.

When evaluating the state of monasticism during the period of the Umayyads from several perspectives, particularly the creative forces in play to cultivate the genre of ascetic and spiritual literature, it is obvious that Syrian monasticism was passing from its creative phase into a twilight phase of transmission. This, however, cannot be said about other areas of life and activities.

¹² «Un colloque du patriarche Jean», éd. NAU, p. 274f.

XIII. SOURCES OF STIMULI FOR SPIRITUALITY AND ASCETICISM

1. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE LITERARY LEGACY UNDER THE NAME OF SĀBĀ

a. *The Sources*

The literary legacy preserved under the name of Sābā¹ has an extraordinary importance. It has been widely used and celebrated. How enthusiastically these writings have been welcomed and what a devotion has been given to them is reflected in the epithets given in the mystical names in variations: «The Spiritual Sābā»², *eš-šeḥ er-rūḥānī*³, «Sābā the Great»⁴, «Sābā, great and perfect and completed»⁵, and «the Divine Sābā»⁶.

The full title of his work is as follows: «The book of a great and perfect and complete one, Sābā, that speaks spiritually and above worldly things, that is suitable for the solitaries who have renounced worldly goods, living in quietness, keeping to the practices and labors of solitariness, removed from all human business and encounters and from carnal bondage»⁷. His work embraces a series of discourses and a collection of letters. While the preservation of the discourses is better attested by more ancient manuscripts⁸, his letters⁹ in this respect stand behind.

Since the preservation of full collection of manuscripts of the legacy of Sābā starts quite late — Baumstark introduces Ms. Seert. 81, written in

the year 1472/3 A. D., as the earliest¹⁰ and from a partial codex only one reaches back to the year 1172/3 A. D.¹¹.

It is very fortunate that the search for unknown manuscript sources in the Syrian Orient has been crowned with such success. Important new sources have been brought to light¹².

The most important document comes from the monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā or Deir Za'farān. This codex has incorporated both of the collections¹³. I refer to Ms. Mardin Orth. 417¹⁴, a heavy codex which has preserved within it very precious sources. This manuscript is furnished with a colophon according to which it was written in the month of Ādār in the year 1785 A. Gr., i.e. in March 1474 A. D.¹⁵. The codex produces surprise inasmuch as another writing of Sābā had found its hiding place in this document. Immediately after the *capita scientiae*, there is added another letter which bears the title: «The distinction of gifts from God»¹⁶. As the title indicates, the writing deals with the theme of spirituality and mysticism under the title «The *madrāsē* of Sābā». The same manuscript discloses to us still other writings from Sābā. Three texts stem from the genre of didactic poetry¹⁷.

A corpus of Sābā's writings which besides the two collections includes others¹⁸ appears in Ms. Birmingham Mingana Syr. 7¹⁹, a codex²⁰ which is very remarkable in this respect. In this form it cannot, however, have come from a codex in the Monastery of Mār Mattai as it claims, and must be a compilation which was made later on²¹.

Ms. Mār Mattai 27²² is a heavy volume, a mine of wealth²³ for many

¹ ܣܒܐ, «Old Man», «venerable».

² ܣܒܐ ܪܘܚܐܢܝܐ.

³ «The spiritual Sheikh who concealed his name but showed his knowledge publicly», ABŪ'L-BARAKĀT, *Miṣbah az-Zilma*, p. 648.

⁴ Ms. Mardin Orth. 418, fol. 1a-b.

⁵ Ms. Birmingham Ming. Syr. 7, MINGANA, *Catalogue I*, col. 24ff.

⁶ Ms. Aleppo Orth. 102, fol. 1b.

⁷ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,729, WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 584f.

⁸ Ms. Vatican Syr. 125, ASSEMANI, *Catalogus III*, p. 155f. He characterizes the manuscript as «codex vetustissimus quidem».

⁹ *La collection des lettres de Jean*, ed. BEULAY.

¹⁰ About other manuscripts, see BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 425.

¹¹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,729, WRIGHT, *Catalogue II*, p. 584f.

¹² VÖÖBUS, «Die Entdeckung wichtiger Urkunden für die syrische Mystik: Jōhannān von Daljatā», p. 267ff.

¹³ VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

¹⁴ Quire 29, fol. 8aff.

¹⁵ Written in the Monastery of Qarṭāmīn in Ṭūr 'Abdīn.

¹⁶ Quire 22, fol. 7a-8a.

¹⁷ Quire 33, fol. 8bff.

¹⁸ *Capitae scientiae*, arranged alphabetically, and various other pieces.

¹⁹ MINGANA, *Catalogue I*, col. 24f.

²⁰ The codex was copied by Deacon Mateos bar Paulos in 1906 A. D., using a codex in the Monastery of Mār Mattai, written in the year 1485 A. D.

²¹ Beulay wanted to see this codex but could not find it, *La collection des lettres*. I have examined all the manuscripts in the collection of the Monastery of Mār Mattai, but I have not seen it.

²² In the collection of manuscripts in the Monastery of Mār Mattai in Maqlūb, Iraq.

²³ About the manuscript see page 408.

ascetic and mystical works. This codex incorporates collections of discourses and letters²⁴.

Ms. Mardin Orth. 418²⁵ is a heavy codex which presents a corpus of selected works in the realm of ascetic and mystical literature. The codex has incorporated both collections of discourses and letters²⁶. This manuscript which was written in the Monastery of Šlibā has preserved its colophon which tells about its origin. Discounting an attempt to change the date²⁷, we learn that the manuscript was copied in the year 1782 A. Gr., i.e. 1470/1 A. D.

A similar body of material is to be found in Ms. Aleppo Orth. 102²⁸. There is no colophon in this interesting manuscript but palaeographical considerations point to the same period as indicated in the previous instance as the time of its origin²⁹.

Still other unknown manuscript sources containing the literary legacy of Sābā have come to light. Indeed, the harvest has been rich³⁰.

Besides these two collections, individual discourses in separate circulation became very popular. This is demonstrated by the florilegia of selected writings in celebrated ascetic authors. The writings of Sābā were found to be so attractive that they were so widely copied and recopied; in the process, they were fused with the works of Ishāq of Ninive and in Greek translation³¹ travelled also to the west. Sābā's discourses have also found receptions elsewhere³². Sābā's discourses even reached Latin-speaking Christianity³³.

²⁴ Fol. 349b-377b; the end is missing.

²⁵ VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

²⁶ See note 24.

²⁷ The colophon reads 1482 A. Gr., i.e. 1170/1 A. D., but the number for the century has been altered. It looks that originally the year was 1782 A. Gr. Palaeographical considerations support this conclusion.

²⁸ This manuscript comes from the remnants of the manuscript collection which once belonged to the church in Edessa. About this collection, see SACHAU, «Über syrische Handschriftensammlungen im Orient».

²⁹ At present the manuscript is kept in the collection of manuscripts in the Church of Mār Giwargi in Aleppo.

³⁰ Ms. Mār Behnām 8/6; Ms. Mardin Orth. 426. Ms. Midyat Melki 16, in the collection of manuscripts in the private possession of Chorepiscopus Melki in Midyat, Tūr 'Abdīn. The codex comes from the 18th cent. Ms. Damascus Patr. 10/5, copied in the year 1898 A. D. Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 232, copied in the year 1901 A. D. Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 310, written in 1905/6.

³¹ The *mēmra* under the title «De fuga mundi» appears in the Byzantine sources.

³² Dorotheos, who flourished in the 6th cent. and lived in the Monastery in Gaza, a disciple of Barsanuphios, composed 23 spiritual discourses but one among them, namely discourse 24, belongs to Jōhannān Sābā. ALTANER, *Patrologie*, p. 468.

³³ Two of his discourses were incorporated into a Latin version of a collection of the

The writings of Sābā, this coryphee of Syrian mysticism, have been held in very great esteem among the ascetics. It is certain that the writings of older mystics such as Pseudo-Macarius³⁴, Jōhannān the Solitary of Apamea³⁵ and others were the sources from which Sābā drew. However, the quality of his literary legacy shows that he did not only carry these traditions on but gave to them an especial élan. This élan is reflected as well through the deep influence exercised by his works on mysticism in later times³⁶, an influence which reached even beyond the boundaries of Syrian culture. Translations of his writings into Arabic³⁷, Ethiopic³⁸, and Greek³⁹ provide impressive testimony about this.

b. *The Thoughtworld*

The manner of his presentation is very noteworthy. The author relates his own inner experiences but clothed in such a way and in such a form that it is not always easy to separate his own experiences, as they were felt by him, from figures and formulations drawn from ascetic and mystical traditions. That which is unfolded before us is the entire range of issues of ascetic life. This involves, on the one hand, questions of repentance, withdrawal from the world, internal struggles, temptations, distraction, distress, pride and self-custody, and on the other, comfort through the visitations of the Spirit, illumination and the benefits the stage of perfection can provide. In order to gain some idea of this atmosphere of piety, certain characteristic features should be singled out.

Sābā follows the lines which were common among the Syrian monks, using the scheme of somatic, psychic and pneumatic stages. This terminology had become very deep rooted. However, by comparison with other mystical authors of a more philosophical attitude, the images, figures and even the terminology of Sābā flows richly and exuberantly

works by Ishāq of Ninive, first edited in Venice in 1506 and was later included into the collection by MIGNÉ, *Patrol. Gr.*, LXXXVI, col. 885f. and 857-9.

³⁴ VÖÖBUS, *On the Historical Importance of the Legacy of Pseudo-Macarius*.

³⁵ *Johannes von Apamea*, ed. STROTHMANN.

³⁶ In this respect very instructive observations can be made in the *Ketābā d-Ītīqōn* by BAR 'EBRAYA, *Ethicon seu moralia*, ed. BEDJAN.

³⁷ GRAF, *Geschichte der christlich arabischen Literatur* I, p. 434ff.

³⁸ This translation was made from an Arabic version and has been connected with Aragawi Manfasawi, «The Spiritual Teacher». According to the colophon, the translation work into Ge'ez took place by the command of the King Lebna Dengel (1508/40 A. D.), WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts*, p. 37ff.

³⁹ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 226.

monk⁵. Some works have put forward a categorical claim⁶ that under the name of Sābā no one else is to be understood than Jōhannān bar Penqāyē⁷. This position in some sources has very firmly been affirmed⁸. One reason for confusion between Jōhannān bar Penqāyē and Jōhannān of Dālyāthā can be deduced from the fact that both have been connected with the same monastery⁹. The conundrum has stimulated other attempts to resolve it¹⁰.

In this muddle, help must be sought from 'Abdīšō', the connoisseur of Syriac literature. He distinguishes between two authors, one Jōhannān bar Penqāyē of the village Penek in Bēt Zabdai, an author of various works¹¹, and the other Jōhannān of Dālyāthā, an author of two volumes on the way of monasticism and letters which he wrote¹². In the light of these facts, it is clear that Jōhannān of Dālyāthā cannot be identified with Jōhannān bar Penqāyē¹³. New observations which come from the vocabulary and the thoughtworld displayed in their writings have confirmed this position¹⁴. Thus the position taken by Baumstark¹⁵, Chabot¹⁶, and Graf¹⁷, that Sābā was actually Jōhannān of Dālyāthā is proven to be true.

That Jōhannān of Dālyāthā belongs to the eighth century is indicated by an episode which took place under Šelēmōn Hedattā¹⁸ which gives us a chronological clue¹⁹. Fortunately, we do not need to stop there since

⁵ *Studia syriaca* I, p. 35. Also SACHAU, *Verzeichnis* II, col. 554f. See also SCHER, «Notice sur la vie de Yohannan», p. 161f.

⁶ So in Ms. Mardin Orth. 420, fol. 229a; Ms. Midyat Melki 5, fol. 53b.

⁷ CHABOT, «Éclaircissements sur quelques points», p. 267.

⁸ Ms. Harvard 30, written in the 15th cent., GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Syriac Manuscripts*, also claims that the author is Jōhannān bar Penkayē «and not Johannan of Dalyāthā».

⁹ Both authors were connected with the Monastery of Dalyāthā. According to Dawid the Phoenician, Jōhannān of Penek entered the Monastery of Dalyāthā.

¹⁰ Such an author as Dawid the Phoenician wanted to resolve the problem so that all three, Jōhannān bar Penkayē, Jōhannān of Dalyāthā and Sābā Rūhānāyā go back to one and the same person who carried out his literary activities under several names. Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 75, fol. 56a. Cf. *Studia Syriaca* I, p. 41ff.

¹¹ *Catalogus CXXI*, ed. ASSEMANI, p. 189f.

¹² *Catalogus LIX*, p. 103f.

¹³ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, B, p. 344f.

¹⁴ BEULAY, «Précisions touchant l'identité et la biographie de Jean Saba», p. 97f.

¹⁵ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 211, 225f.

¹⁶ *Littérature syriaque*, p. 105f.

¹⁷ *Geschichte der christlich arabischen Literatur* I, p. 434ff.

¹⁸ This episode falls between the year 760 and 780.

¹⁹ The chain of this teachers as reported by Išō'denah yields the same result. See CHABOT, «Éclaircissements sur quelques points», p. 267.

our knowledge about this Jōhannān can be deepened. We can learn more about his background from the biographical sources at our disposal²⁰. Among these writings we owe one to Išō'denah²¹. According to his biography²², he was from Bēt Nūhadrā, that means the plain of Ninive. He received his monastic garb at the Monastery of Mār Jōzādāq in the mountains of Qardū where he started his monastic career²³. Later he is reported to have moved to the mountain wilderness of Bēt Dālyāthā where he lived for a long time, practicing very rigorous asceticism²⁴. The same source adds that he composed numerous works on monasticism. It is further reported that in his old age he left the place and settled in the mountains of Qardū in the vicinity of the village of Argūl. There a number of monks gathered around him and set up a monastery. It is added that the canons which he gave to the new community corresponded to those in the west Syrian monasteries. After his death he was buried in the Monastery of Sahdōnā.

Geographical data are even more complete in a brief biography²⁵. According to this source, Jōhannān came from Bēt Nūhadrā but from the village of Ardamūth «which was far away from the River Zab»²⁶. The village of Ardamūth today bears the name al-Kawasa²⁷, a fortified village in the mountains²⁸. The same anonymous biography gives additional data. The monastery which Jōhannān founded was situated in the mountains of Qardū near the villages of Raghūl and Nassūr. A monastery had actually existed there and it had belonged to a certain monk with the name Ja'qūb 'abīlā. This is the institution which he

²⁰ COLLESS, «The Biographies of John Saba», p. 45ff.

²¹ *Le livre de la chasteté*, p. 225ff. The section bearing the number 126 is devoted to Jōhannān of Dalyāthā. The same text has been re-edited in *Liber superiorum*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 437ff. Here the section bearing the number 127 is devoted to Jōhannān of Dalyāthā.

²² *Le livre de la chasteté*, p. 66f.

²³ He is reported to have been in a close contact with a Stephanos, a disciple of Mār Ja'qūb Hazzāyā and Rabban Aphnimaran.

²⁴ It is told here that Šelēmōn of Hedatā for a while tried to share the rigor of his ascetic practices with him. This took place before he was elevated to episcopal honor. His elevation must have taken place before the year 790 since he was involved in the tumultuous aftermath of the election of Patriarch Timotheos. About this story, see TUMA, *Historia monastica*, p. 198f.

²⁵ *Studia Syriaca*, ed. RAHMANI I, p. 33f.

²⁶ Rahmani translated, «ad certam distantiam a flumine Zab» but it is misleading since the Syriac text reads: «far away».

²⁷ YĀQŪT, *Mu'jam al-Buldan* IV, p. 48. He says that the location is east of Mosul. Actually the village is north and northeast of Mosul, FIEY, *Assyrie chrétienne* II, p. 694.

²⁸ YĀSĪN AL-'OMARI, *Meeniat al-Udabā*, p. 54.

renewed. It is stated here that Jōhannān composed letters and discourses on asceticism and sent them to his brother²⁹.

Still another episode of his life has been recorded. It involves a conflict with the authorities of his church. Jōhannān won a certain notoriety because his theological views evoked the wrath of the authorities of his church³⁰. Catholicos Timotheos raised accusations against him at a synod and had him condemned³¹.

This concludes all that is known about Jōhannān's person and life. There is still another source, a hymn on the saints³² which as an anonymous also includes Jōhannān of Dālyāthā. However, it can offer no service to us because it is not an independent source; it rests on the work of Iṣō'denaḥ.

2. THE CONTRIBUTION OF IṢHĀQ OF NINEVE

a. *Recollection of his Person*

Regarding the person and the life of Iṣhāq of Nineve, there has been much confusion. The reason is this, that he has been often mixed up with Iṣhāq of Antioch.

Trustworthy historical data¹ about Iṣhāq's person and life have been scanty². In view of the immense fame and reputation enjoyed by Iṣhāq in the history of monasticism, it is strange that his life story has found only very limited treatment. The only author among known writers has been Iṣō'denaḥ who, in his work on monasticism³, devoted a chapter to Iṣhāq of Nineve⁴. In addition, there is an anonymous sketch of his life⁵. Of course, there is also a biography which has been added to the Arabic version of his writings⁶; however, it is an entireky worthless fabrication.

²⁹ *Studia syriaca*, ed. RAHMANI I, p. 33f., 65.

³⁰ IṢO'DENAḤ, *Le livre de la chasteté* CXXI, p. 67.

³¹ Patriarch Timotheos I (790-823) condemned his writings together with those by Jōhannān of Apamea and Jauseph Ḥazzāyā, 'ABDISO', *Nomocanon* IX, 6, ed. MAI, p. 329.

³² Ms. Sachau Syr. 125, SACHAU, *Verzeichnis* I, p. 234ff.

¹ CHABOT, *De Isaaci Ninivite vita*.

² KHALIFÉ-HACHEM, «Isaac de Ninive», col. 2041ff.

³ *Le livre de la chasteté*, §125, éd. CHABOT, p. 63.

⁴ A new manuscript source appears in Ms. Alqōš which has no signature; its measurements are 20 × 13,5cm. The work appears in a section which is covered by quire 16, fol. 1b-22, fol. 1b; the manuscript seems to come from the 18th or 19th cent. Another codex appears in Ms. Beirut St. Joseph 24.

⁵ *Studia syriaca*, ed. RAHMANI, p. 33.

⁶ ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca orient.* I, p. 444f.

Iṣō'denaḥ's report does not include anything about Iṣhāq's origin and background except that he was born in Bēt Qatrāyē. He introduces him on the stage of history as a man who was consecrated bishop of Nineve as the successor of Bishop Mōšē. The place of his consecration — it is mentioned too — took place in the Monastery of Bēt 'Abē. More important is the fact that it was Catholicos Gīwargī who consecrated him, for that brings in a chronological clue, the only one in the entire account. It is known that Catholicos Iṣō'yahb III, on his deathbed, recommended Gīwargī I as his successor⁷. We also know that Gīwargī was catholicos until the year 680/81.

Iṣhāq's tenure in the episcopal post of Nineve was of very short duration. He stayed in office only five months; he then resigned, leaving his bishopric in trouble⁸. The attraction of the life of the solitaries had become irresistible to him and he went to live in the mountains. Iṣō'denaḥ says that he lived on the mountain of Matut, which surrounds Bēt Huzāyē, in solitude among the anchorites there. Iṣō'denaḥ also records the datum that he later left the anchorites and went to the Monastery of Rabban Šabūr. Of this period in the monastery, Iṣō'denaḥ can say no more than this: «He became exceedingly well acquainted with the divine writings». Eventually Iṣhāq lost his eyesight.

Iṣō'denaḥ also mentions an action undertaken against Iṣhāq's views. He says that Daniel, the Bishop of Bēt Garmai, resented certain things in his writings about which Iṣō'denaḥ says little more than that they were about «three things». Iṣō'denaḥ adds that, in his judgement, all this was caused by envy; Daniel also caused accusations to be brought against Jausep Ḥazzāyā, Jōhannān of Apamea and Jōhannān of Dālyathā.

Iṣō'denaḥ reports that Iṣhāq had reached an advanced age before he departed from this transitory life. His earthly remains were buried in the Monastery of Šabūr where he had spent the final period in his life. This is the sketch of Iṣhāq's life in Iṣō'denaḥ's work. It leaves the impression that the information available to him was very limited.

An anonymous sketch of Iṣhāq's life fortunately is able to add certain additional items to this very general picture. This source, too, reports that Iṣhāq was born in Bēt Qatrāyē but adds that he was a relative of Mār Gabriel Qatrāyā, «the commentator of the church»⁹. Of his earlier

⁷ IṢO'YAHB died in 657/8.

⁸ After the see had been vacant his successor, Sabrišō', was consecrated but he also resigned his office and became an anchorite.

⁹ He was a prolific author and a teacher at the theological school of Seleucia, BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 200f.

life, it is said that he had become well versed in the writings of the church as well as commentaries when he became a monk and teacher in his country. Regrettably, this statement is all too brief. Except for some comments about his ascetic habits, which may be no more than a bit of filling, little is said about this man after he resigned from office.

With regard to the impact of Ishāq, a new source, namely a letter of Mār Jozadaq to his disciple Būsir in the Monastery of Mār Šabūr, presents a glowing personal testimony to the effect that Ishāq had «filled your monastery with doctrine full of life».

As for the accusations raised against Ishāq, a reflection comes to us in another Nestorian author who flourished in the ninth century, namely Ibn as-Salt, who wrote in Arabic and whose name is connected with excerpts from the works of Ishāq¹⁰. Here we learn something new. In the third letter he tells us that the same bishop Daniel had written a refutation against certain views of Ishāq¹¹.

Given the scarcity of information, efforts to discover possible autobiographical references and allusions to personal experiences in Ishāq's own writings have been carried out¹². These attempts have become futile. Everything that, upon first examination looked to be of promise, became elusive¹³ in subsequent analysis.

b. *Ishāq's Literary Legacy*

Ishāq's literary legacy has established his fame as a teacher of asceticism and mysticism throughout centuries. It made such a forceful impact that it actually broke through the partition walls of confessional camps and Ishāq's writings, therefore, occupy a special place in the history of ascetic and monastic literature.

Exact information about his literary works as they appear among the Syriac authors leaves much to be desired. Iṣṣō'denāḥ reports that «he wrote books on the divine behavior of the solitaires»¹. The anonymous *vita* is a little more concrete: «he wrote five volumes which are extant till now (full of) sweet doctrine»². According to 'Abdīšō' Ishāq is reported to

¹⁰ *Traité religieux, philosophiques et moraux*, éd. SBATH, p. 77ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹² WENSINCK, *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh*, p. XIXff.

¹³ The reference to the experiences of a bishop in the desert, *De perfectione religiosa*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 249 which Wensinck takes as an autobiographical datum, is nothing else than a story with Aba Apphy, bishop of Oxyrhynchus taken from the Apophthegmata. See 'ENĀNĪŠŌ, *The Book of Paradise*, ed. BUDGE I, p. 589.

¹ *Le livre de la chasteté*, p. 63.

² *Studia syriaca*, p. 33.

have produced seven volumes «on the spiritual life, on the divine mysteries and judgements and the temptations»³.

Ishāq's main work bears the title: «The book on the way of monasticism, asceticism and the naziritehood»⁴. It is a very extensive work, covering eighty-two sections⁵, initiated by a cycle entitled: «Six treatises on the behavior of excellence»⁶. In the manuscript traditions, it appears as the first volume of the normal recension which, however, shows changes and variations. The whole work presents us with a huge convolutum, put together without any plan or system, and in which all sorts of writings have been thrown together. This kaleidoscopic variety includes symbolical diatribes, discourses, hortatory sections, question and answer sections, paraenetic tracts, epistolary treatises, pastoral counselings, apophthegmata materials and meditations. Consequently, it is a very complicated undertaking to enter the labyrinth of the manuscript traditions to try to track down the original arrangement of all these materials. Many sections have had an independent life, having been included in anthologies, florilegia and other collections of ascetic, spiritual and mystical writings. Even more complicated are the ways these segments are reflected in the history of preservation in the Arabic versions⁷ which have survived in great quantities⁸.

We are very fortunate that the very few manuscripts extant in Syriac⁹ have been supplemented by new witnesses discovered in the Syrian Orient¹⁰.

Another source¹¹ has preserved works of Ishāq not yet edited. These begin with «Four *mēmre* on knowledge»; unfortunately the first two have perished due to the mutilation of the manuscript. Bedjan says that he had seen a huge, almost complete manuscript in Urmiah which

³ *Catalogus librorum eccl.* LXX, p. 104.

⁴ ܬܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܥܐ ܕܬܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܥܐ ܕܬܝܬܝܬܐ ... ܕܝܫܥܐ. So as the title appears in Ms. Tübingen Or. quart. 1159; see ASSFALG, *Syrische Handschriften*, p. 40.

⁵ *De perfectione religiosa*, ed. BEDJAN; the work was translated by WENSINCK, *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh*; cf. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 223ff.

⁶ The cycle concludes with this subscription.

⁷ Ms. Vatican Syr. 198 is a Karšunī manuscript, ASSEMANI, *Catalogus III*, p. 427ff. The work here appears in 4 books and only the second and the third correspond with the Syriac text of which the first and the fourth do not appear to have counterparts in Syriac.

⁸ GRAF, *Geschichte der christlich arabischen Literatur*.

⁹ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 223f.

¹⁰ Ms. Mardin Orth. 195, Ms. 418, Ms. 420, see VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*; Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 310; Ms. Mār Mattai 27 and Ms. Anḫel, a manuscript in folio size; it contains individual treatises.

¹¹ Ms. Paris Syr. 298; NAU, «Notices des manuscrits», p. 278.

The transition from the stage of repentance to the next and higher one takes place through purification. This is the psychic¹⁸ stage which has to do with the purification of the soul. Here it is a struggle against the adversary thoughts. Ascetic practices, discipline, perseverance in ascetic acts, intensification in the means of self-denial, these prepare the ascetic for the stage which is suitable for deeper growth. We have to do with the struggle against affections¹⁹. This is most difficult and dangerous since the enemy is elusive and subtle and the struggle full of peril. In describing the dangers which take place in this struggle, Ishāq does not speak only of the senses of the body²⁰ but he speaks also of the senses of the soul. He also views the heart as an organ with inward senses. All this is complicated by the impulses and emotions²¹. The constant struggle in this stage²² instills the awareness that if the solitary ceases for even a short time from meditating on spiritual writings or from thinking divine things, he is in danger of being swept away by the affections.

Ishāq understands progress in purification to occur in two stages. This is brought out at the beginning of the fortieth discourse: «Mental discipline makes the soul humble and purifies it from the material impulses that tend towards decayed things, by changing their affectable nature into motions of contemplation»²³. When this is accomplished, the premises are created for further progress in purification. The soul becomes able to move beyond the external incitements towards its original stage²⁴.

Now the purified soul is able to perform functions which it was not able to carry out previously. Particularly important in this spiritual growth is the attainment of pure prayer. The question: what is prayer? is answered in the following way: «The mind's being free from all that is earthly and the heart's turning its gaze completely towards the desire of

¹⁸ *كيفية*.

¹⁹ *كيفية*.

²⁰ *كيفية*.

²¹ *كيفية*.

²² «Righthand and lefthand deliberations are stirred equally in it», *ibid.*, p. 122.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²⁴ «When the waters from without do not enter the fountain of the soul, its natural waters will arise viz. the wonderful intuitions which are moving towards God at all time», *ibid.*, p. 20.

future hope»²⁵. In this way Ishāq describes the supreme form of prayer which he calls pure prayer²⁶.

In this struggle, encouragement comes from various sides which point to the right direction in the movement of these endeavors and toils. One is the fervor that inflames the heart. Ishāq speaks of this kindled fervor of heart as follows: «In solitude there is warmth blazing and immeasurable heat, which is generated in the heart by fervent deliberations»²⁷. The other sign is the appearance of the tears. The tears are spoken of as a sign of the transition from the corporeal to the spiritual stage²⁸; in this stage they gain in importance. Ishāq describes with affection the beginning of such outbursts and the growth of this experience as it develops into a habit²⁹. When the disciple asks Ishāq his occupation in solitude should be «lest his intellect should be found to be occupied with accidental deliberations», the answer given to this question is a question: «What can the meditation of the solitary in his cell be but weeping?»³⁰. This answer is strengthened by the argument: «And even his name turns him into this direction — for he is called *'abīlā*³¹, which means bitter in heart»³². For Ishāq, this is the true sign of all the saints³³. Constant weeping is necessary for the growth of the internal man since it is a protection against the affections³⁴.

Such are the labors and toils which lead to the restitution of the authentic nature of the soul, the return to the original state in which it was created³⁵. The soul becomes pure and free of all the passions and thus the image of God in man³⁶. Such a state of integrity by Ishāq is

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

²⁶ KHALIFÉ-HACHEM, «La prière pure et la prière spirituelle selon Isaac de Ninive», p. 157ff.

²⁷ *De perfectione religiosa*, p. 87.

²⁸ «Tears are to the mind the sure distinction between the bodily and the spiritual state», *ibid.*, p. 245.

²⁹ «At first partial ones; this means that a man's tears will flow several times every day; then he will come to (the state of) tears without a break», *ibid.*, p. 128.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

³¹ *كافور*, «a mourner».

³² *Ibid.*, p. 252.

³³ «All the righteous have departed his world with weeping. If the saints would weep and their mouths at all times were filled with their tears and they thus departed this world, who should not weep then?», *ibid.*, p. 252.

³⁴ «For if anyone weeps constantly, the affections will not approach his heart; for weeping lies beyond affectability», *ibid.*, p. 253.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

XIV. MONASTICISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE LEGISLATIVE SOURCES

1. THE CANONS OF JA'QÖB OF EDESSA

a. *The Sources*

In the creation of canonical materials a very famous name is Ja'qöb of Edessa. In his person there appeared the greatest light in the heavens of Syrian scholarship.

About 684 A.D. — the chronology is uncertain here¹ — Ja'qöb was elevated to the episcopacy by the Patriarch Athanasios II². This, however, was only a brief episode in his life. His rule as a bishop was to last no longer than four years since he could not endure the frictions that embittered his work. He was also perturbed by the spirit of laxity towards the authority of the canons that he found prevalent in the church³. As a protest against this spirit, he burned a codex containing the canons and resigned. He withdrew to the monastery to Kaišüm, and continued his career as a celebrated scholar in Greek scholarship there. Later he was active in the Monastery of Eusebönā, and finally in the Monastery of Tell 'Adā⁴. When the church of Edessa asked him to resume his duties some twenty years later, he consented⁵ but this time his tenure was even more brief. Death ended his life on June 5, 708⁶.

As has already been said, in the person of Ja'qöb of Edessa there appeared the greatest light in the heavens of Syrian scholarship. Even an enumeration of the areas which he cultivated indicates the magnitude of

¹ Pseudo-Dionysios gives the year 676/7, *Chronique syriaque de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, ed. CHABOT, p. 9.

² He ruled between 683/4-686 according to MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, p. 445.

³ BAR 'EBRĀYĀ, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* I, col. 289f.

⁴ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,429, fol. 90a testifies to the fact that Ja'qöb was there in the year 705 A.D., and had started the revision of the Books of Samuel and the Kings. Further, Ms. Paris Syr. 27, fol. 148a tells us that the revision of the Book of Daniel was prepared in the year 1016 A. Gr., i.e. 705 A.D. in the Monastery of Tell 'Adā.

⁵ BAR 'EBRĀYĀ reports that Ja'qöb resigned for the second time, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* I, col. 293. See also his vita in Ms. Damascus Patr. 12/18, fol. 446-486.

⁶ Thus ELIYĀ BAR ŠINAYĀ, *Opus chronologicum*, ed. BROOKS-CHABOT, p. 158; also Bar 'Ebrāyā. However, Pseudo-Dionysios gives the year 709/10 A.D., *Chronique syriaque*, p. 12.

his contribution: textual criticism of the Bible, liturgy, theology, philosophy, historiography and science. His many-sided Graeco-Syro translation work, beginning with the Greek theological and liturgical writings and ending with Greek classical philosophical works, has fertilized the Aramaic thoughtworld with the best in Hellenism.

From Ja'qöb, we have in our possession a larger number of canons and canonical resolutions. That which has been preserved in the Nomocanon of Bar 'Ebrāyā has become widely known. Of these canons, a critical edition⁷ is available based on a number of manuscripts⁸ including unknown manuscript sources which have been ferreted out in the Syrian Orient⁹.

b. *The canons*

1. It is not lawful for a monk to take the answers¹ from the gospel or from David (of the Psalter) or from the portion (or lot) called the Apostolos.

2. It is not lawful for the stylites to celebrate² the eucharist on their columns³.

3. It is also not lawful for the recluses to celebrate⁴ the eucharist, except in (case of) necessity⁵.

4. It also is not lawful that the sacred body shall be placed near the stylites on the column, if there is someone to offer to them the eucharist.

5. Monks who have laid aside (the monastic habit) and have taken wives, shall not put on monastic garments.

6. A monk shall not kill an animal.

7. Monks who by force have been driven to cast stones by (war) machines⁶ shall not be blamed under (the law of the) canons.

8. Monks shall not go to the vigils or commemoration of the martyrs or feasts, not even under the pretext to pray there.

⁷ *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 95f.

⁸ About them, see *ibid.*, page 94.

⁹ Ms. Šarfeh Syr. 4/4 and Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 460.

¹ Or.: «divine».

² Lit.: «offer».

³ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,493, fol. 181b adds here: «Nor shall they make gatherings at them».

⁴ Lit.: «offer».

⁵ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,493, fol. 181b adds here: «Or in the neighborhood no men are found who may reach the eucharist to them».

⁶ *σφαιριστήριον*, «an engine for hurling stones», «a balista», *μαγγανικός*.

3. CANONICAL RESOLUTIONS BY JA'QÖB OF EDESSA

The Sources and Resolutions

It is, indeed, a matter of some advantage for our inquiry that certain supplemental data come from another genre of legislative creation in Ja'qöb's legacy. This has to do with the branch devoted to the *šūa'lē-pūnāyē* resolutions¹. Ja'qöb has devoted loving care to it.

The cycle of resolutions sent to Addai² has been preserved in a mode containing several ramifications³. This cycle represents a long list of his canonical resolutions⁴ on liturgical, religious, communal and social aspects. The learned author dwells with affection particularly on issues which involve the cult, ritual and liturgy; occasionally the resolutions focus on other matters which are even more welcome for the present inquiry.

Pūnāyā 24. In a convent of nuns where there is no priest or deacon, the deaconess is allowed to take the sacrament from the cabinet of the eucharist.

Pūnāyā 35. The use of «books of the moon and thunder» are forbidden as they are forbidden for clergy and laypeople.

Pūnāyā 54. It is not allowed an anchorite to live together with an heterodox anchorite.

Pūnāyā 55. An anchorite is not allowed to enter into discussion with heretics.

Pūnāyā 57. When an emir invites the abbot to eat with him this must be understood as an emergency situation.

Pūnāyā 61. Monks as well as clerics are allowed to participate in the funeral processions of heterodox Christians.

The most extensive cycle of his canonical resolutions⁵ contains omissions for which new resolutions are introduced by way of compensation.

Pūnāyā 73. The resolution deals with the question whether it is a sin

¹ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I,1, p. 273ff.

² Ms. Paris Syr. 62, fol. 273a-284b, of the 9th cent., ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue*, p. 28; Ms. Cambridge Add. 2023, fol. 259a-275b, of the 13th cent., WRIGHT-COOK, *Catalogue*, p. 600.

³ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I,1, p. 274ff.

⁴ *Reliquiae juris eccl.*, ed. LAGARDE, p. 117ff., *Dissertatio de fide*, p. 98ff.

⁵ Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 234, fol. 1a-20a, of the 18th cent.

to obey when the Arabs compel monks and clerics to take part in war actions.

Pūnāyā 105. Monks are forbidden to kill animals.

Another branch⁶ in the spectrum of canonical resolutions has preserved some of the new ordinances⁷.

Pūnāyā 117. According to this liturgical ordinance the abbots, so also the *sū'ārē* and the priests are not allowed to take the eucharist from the altar, but a priest must distribute the sacrament.

Pūnāyā 125. Monks are not allowed to take over sponsorship as so many have made of it a custom. The same resolution forbids the monks to take part in the festivals of the saints, commemorations and banquets, or to sing and keep vigils there. This sounds better in English, keep vigils there and sing there.

There is still another source for these materials. The resolutions sent to Jōhannān 'Eštūnārā⁸ have been preserved only in a single witness, one which has survived solely because of the fact that it was included in the Synodicon of the West Syrian tradition⁹.

Pūnāyā 9. Is it necessary for the doors of the church to be closed on the day when the eucharist is offered?

Ja'qöb: «This is necessary and especially so that the perverts to Islam will not enter and mingle with the believers, disturb them and laugh at the holy mysteries».

Still another cycle of canonical resolutions sent to the same Jōhannān has emerged in a very precious manuscript¹⁰ which also owes its preservation to the fact that it was included in the Synodicon of the West Syrian tradition¹¹.

Pūnāyā 4. It regulates the question how it is proper to handle the eucharist with respect to the stylites. If there are people in the near vicinity, it is not necessary to place the eucharist near them on the column.

Pūnāyā 5. The resolution deals with the issue that the stylites give proclamations or admonitions to the people, administer judgements and

⁶ Ms. Harvard Har. 85, fol. 84a-85a, of the 8th cent. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 75. In general this cycle agrees with Ms. Mardin Orth. 310, fol. 29b-33b.

⁷ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I,1, p. 284ff.

⁸ Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/11, fol. 100a-114a.

⁹ *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition* i, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 233ff.

¹⁰ Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/11, fol. 110a-114a.

¹¹ *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition*, p. 245ff.

decree laws. Ja'qōb's answer is: «If they want to be teachers and admonishers of the people, this should only be through silent exhortation, so that through good deed and example they may become teachers to the people, and not by talk and noise — because the deed has much more excellence than towards admonition».

Pūnāyā 4. The monks are forbidden to perform baptism «even if it should happen that sponsors and God-parents for him who is to be baptized could not be found».

Monks are forbidden to go to the vigils or to the commemorations of the saints or to the banquets, or to keep vigils there and sing there.

Finally, another ramification of the resolutions has been awaiting introduction. This has been preserved in an ancient manuscript¹² which has preserved the cycle sent to the same Jōhannān 'Eštūnārā of the village of Litarb. This cycle can add another interesting splinter.

Pūnāyā 12. Monks are allowed to participate in the processions of the Chalcedonians.

4. THE CANONS OF GĪWARGĪ THE BISHOP OF THE ARABS

a. The Sources

Gīwargī is a name well known in the history of Syriac literature and the Syrian church. He occupies a special place among the illustrious scholars and authors of the Syrian tongue¹. In 686² — or according to another tradition two months after the death of Patriarch Athanasius³ — he was elevated to the episcopacy. There he was active until his death in 724.

His diocese was not an ordinary one in several respects. First of all, his flock did not consist of Syrians but of Arabs who had been drawn into the orbit of Syrian Christianity in happier times when the mission was growing⁴. Most of his spiritual subjects did not know a settled life⁵.

¹² Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,493, fol. 148b-158a of the 10th cent., WRIGHT, *Catalogue* I, p. 219.

¹ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen* I, 1, A, p. 216ff.

² See RYSEL, *Georgs des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe*, p. xv.

³ Athanasius died on the 11th of Ilul in the year 998 A. Gr., MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, p. 474.

⁴ See page 231ff.

⁵ The spiritual flock consisted of those Arab tribes who lived as nomads in tents along the fruitful districts of the Syrian and Mesopotamia borders and areas at the Euphrates.

In all of his writings, Gīwargī appears to be an exponent of the best that contemporary Syrian culture could offer. His works are marked with a wide horizon, a many-sidedness in scholarship.

According to his own admission, Gīwargī was keenly interested in monasticism⁶.

This particular interest in monasticism is manifested, too, in the canons through which he has made his own contribution to the legacy of monastic legislation.

Unfortunately, his canons in their original form have not survived except for the part that was incorporated in the codification work by Bar 'Ebrāyā⁷. The text of these canons is available in a critical edition⁸ resting on the earliest manuscripts⁹. Unknown older manuscripts¹⁰ from the Syrian Orient have enriched this company of witnesses.

b. The Canons

1. By God's excommunication we have ordered that the monks who carry bags and reliquaries¹ of saints and who are roaming around, shall not be received.

2. It is not permitted the abbots and the stylites to write the letters of excommunications or judgements or those of admonitions to the towns and villages.

3. Monks who make the present because of abbacy shall be anathematized.

4. An abbot shall not be appointed without the order² of the bishop.

5. An abbot who revolts against his bishop and stops³ the recitation⁴ (of his name in the liturgy) shall be anathematized.

⁶ *Analecta syriaca*, p. 133.

⁷ *Nomocanon*, p. 113.

⁸ *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 99.

⁹ About the earliest manuscripts see page 352f.

¹⁰ About these unknown sources, see *ibid*.

¹ ܩܠܒܐ, «coffins», «shrines», γλωσσόκομον.

² Lit.: «commandment».

³ Lit.: «cuts off».

⁴ ܩܠܐܝܬܐ, «heralding», «proclamation», «commemoration of ecclesiastical dignitaries».

5. THE CANONS OF ANONYMOUS ORIGIN

a. *The Source*

A cycle of canons on the monastic life has not survived in its original language but only in a version of a very strange and difficult Arabic dialect, preserved in a Karšuni manuscript. However, these rules must have existed in Syriac since the language, choice of words and terminology used in this cycle reveal the Syriac substratum which shines through the Arabic idiom with an undimmed luster.

The record besides the very general title, «the canons»¹, has no other title. It has been preserved in the only witness which appears in Ms. Vatican Syr. 159². The codex is not old³.

The text of this collection of canons has been edited⁴.

The cycle consists of twenty canons which deal with various issues regarding the ascetic life, the monastic community and the ordinances for administration and the rules for daily duties as well as prescriptions even in matters of etiquette. Occasionally, we are informed about other regulations in this collection which does not stand out as a consistent and logically structured composition.

The cycle is of an anonymous provenance. Nothing can be elicited about its background. All that can be inferred is this, that the collection bears the imprint of a compilation. Particularly in the last part do the signs of suture become noticeable. It has become evident that the Persian canons on monasticism have served as a source of inspiration for a number of canons⁵. This becomes particularly clear in the last rules. The concluding portion, indeed, rests on a collection of the rules designed for the monks in Persia⁶.

Whether this source has been transmitted through intermediary channels, something which is altogether possible in this genre of literature, cannot be determined.

With regard to the question of the origin of this cycle, it is useless even to attempt to say anything. There was a time when certain vague

¹ ܡܪܬܐ.

² Fol. 132a-132b.

³ The manuscript comes from the year 1642 A. D. ASSEMANI, *Catalogus* III, p. 314.

⁴ *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 110ff.

⁵ VÖÖBUS, *Syriscche Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, B, p. 398f.

⁶ Can. 15-20 are the same as found in the cycle of Canons 21-25 of the Persians.

indications seemed to give some encouragement⁷, however, upon closer scrutiny these indications have shown themselves to be utterly elusive.

b. *The canons*

1. If someone longs for the monastic life, the bishop must make investigations regarding where he is from and the reasons why he desires to become a monk.

2. If he is a free man, a son of believers and under the tutelage of his father, he shall not be received except with the consent of his parents.

3. A secular shall not be received except with the permission of his bishop unless he is attached to a wife or that he has children or that there are other impediments; for the care of his wife and his children and his place among them is superior to the monastic life, and more acceptable to God. Whoever transgresses this rule shall be excommunicated.

4. Monk, if in your sickness you have a necessity to enter in a bathhouse, enter (no more than) twice or thrice.

5. If you eat meat in your sickness, do not regard this as a sin, but sadden yourself — you have undergone a defeat because your virtue is reduced by this slip — for a monk is not to eat meat either in his sickness or without sickness.

6. A monk shall not grow hair on his head; on the contrary, he shall shave it all off, and shall not leave on his head a crown of hair.

7. (A monk) shall not put a ring on his finger, neither of gold nor of silver nor of anything else.

8. Monks of the monasteries if they have an option can eat only twice a day: the first at the sixth (hour) and the second in the evening of the daylight.

9. And if they have no option they shall eat only once at the ninth (hour).

10. The monks shall not eat meat either in their monasteries or elsewhere.

11. The monks cannot marry.

12. The monks shall not live with women, and shall not have relations with them.

13. They shall not look on them, neither at the old nor the young ones, neither at the virgins nor at the orphans.

⁷ VÖÖBUS, *Syriscche Kanonessammlungen*, I, 1, p. 400.

14. No one of the monks shall allow himself to receive a deposit from his relatives nor from the strangers, so that he may not draw a scandal or guilt upon the monastery.

15. A head of the monastery who directs (his community) well shall not be removed from his office.

16. A monk who knows a psalm, one only, shall repeat the same psalm in all of his prayers.

17. A monk who eats meat shall be adjudged a fornicator.

18. (If) a monk wants to pray in his cell — this opportunity shall be given to him only on ordinary days, not on the feasts nor on Sundays.

19. A monk who goes to the town for the purpose of instruction, shall live in a church, and shall not neglect fasting and prayer; and if he is poor, he shall labor (in a) work (which is) without blame.

20. A monk shall not enter the convent of nuns at all.

XV. CONDITIONS DURING THE ERA OF THE ABBASIDS

1. NEW PREMISES

The period which followed the Umayyad dynasty is far from being as homogeneous as that preceding it. Several factors had emerged in the interim, factors which influenced the political and spiritual direction of the new dynasty. These changes brought about different conditions of existence in the life of the Christians.

The change in the dynasty brought far more politically self-conscious Abbasids to power. With their appearance on the stage of history and the fall of the Umayyad dynasty, there was signalled a process which had already started quietly somewhat earlier, namely, the process of the institutionalization of the Islamic theocracy. Reporters of the history of this period state that the Abbasids really were those who established the caliphate, a task which the predecessors failed to accomplish. Principles and customs which had been followed up to that time could no longer correspond to new tastes. The theocratic principle now adopted caused rearrangements and adjustment in every sector, both of the state and society. Whereas, at the time of Caliph al-Malik, the administrative machinery had been left in the hands of Christians¹ — as it had generally been left in the hands of the local dignitaries after the invasion, at the beginning of the new dynasty, the entire apparatus of administrative service was thoroughly reorganized inclusive of drastic changes². Christians were removed from positions which they had held for generations³. Further, whereas at the time of Caliph al-Malik, official correspondence had still been held in Greek or Persian⁴, it was henceforward replaced by Arabic.

Significant changes in the sector of religion were not allowed a long hiatus before receiving similar attention⁵. The new potentates began to interpret the Islamic tradition, jurisprudence and the Quran more

¹ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique*, éd. CHABOT IV, p. 487f.

² AL-FAKHRI, *Histoire des dynasties musulmanes*, tr. AMAR, p. 243f.

³ According to Theophanes this had taken place immediately after the change of the dynasty in the year 751; *Chronographia*, ed. CLASSEN I, p. 664.

⁴ AL-ĞAĤSİYARI, *Kitab al-wuzara*, ed. MŽIK, p. 9, 11.

⁵ FIEY, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbasides*.

stringently. One source goes so far as to identify the year H. 143, i.e. the year 760 A.D., as the turning point⁶. In the wake of this shift, the new rulers approached the question of the subjugated ones with quite different premises. The attitude towards the Christians gradually became harder. The sympathetic attitude towards Christians which had characterized the Umayyad position was replaced by the tendency inexorably to press them into a secondary or tertiary position. The words written by 'Amr Ibn Bahr al-Džāhiz reflect the alteration in sentiment. He states there are no more impious people than the Christians are⁷. He accuses them of being arrogant and insolent⁸.

The effect of the changed mentality soon became visible. This is most easily seen in the fate of the Arab Christians. As has already been indicated earlier, they had had to be content with certain curtailments and even vexations. But all these difficulties seemed minor by comparison with the ordeals to which they were now subjected. The Caliph Mahdi resorted to violence and suppression in order to compel them to embrace Islam. The new road was to be marked by the blood of Arab Christians⁹.

The hardened attitude involved also monasticism. A more rigorous review at the stipulations applying to the monks was carried out. Treaties were inspected and minutely investigated in order to discover on just what basis the monasteries had obtained their right to existence. The prohibition against the building of new monasteries, which had been overlooked in the past, was now brought to the fore. Rights and privileges once granted were submitted to scrutiny and new interpretations. As a result, the relation between monasteries and the Islamic rulers inevitably became a matter of controversy. In that increasingly untenable situation, the monasteries began to invent apocryphal traditions designed for their protection. This in turn provoked counteractions. It would appear that the treaties which bear 'Umar's name prohibiting not only the building of new monasteries but even the restoration of collapsed and debilitated monasteries¹⁰ were fabricated at this time.

⁶ AS-SUYUTI, *History of the Caliphs*, tr. JARRETT, p. 266.

⁷ *Risāla fī l-radd 'ala-l-naṣāra*, ed. FINKEL, p. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18f.

⁹ *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. BRUNS-KIRSCH, p. 133. About the year 780 the last still Christian tribe of Banu Tanūkh was compelled to embrace Islam.

¹⁰ *A libro qui inscribitur Thesaurus Regum auctore Seiīd Ali Hamadanensi*, tr. ROSENMÜLLER I, p. 15f.

The way in which, in the radically altered climate, the conditions given to the monasteries were to be interpreted can be seen in the apocryphal letter — certainly a product of the Abbasid time — which Ibn al-Wāsitī used and which the Christians had allegedly accepted at the time of the invasion. According to it, the monks were not to be allowed to found new monasteries or monks' cells in towns or in the adjacent territories. Nor were they to be allowed to restore those which had fallen into ruins nor those which the Arabs had pulled down¹¹.

The more inflexible spirit of the Abbasids not only was not content with the reassessment of the traditions and instructions implementing the new policy, but also occasionally became belligerent against the monasteries and monasticism. This more rigorous disposition evoked the pillaging and plundering of the monasteries and even their destruction. These acts of violence were sometimes initiated by higher authorities but low functionaries even more frequently — quick to read the signs of the times — took action. The author of a compilation known as the Baḥirā legend conjures up something of the new scenery for us when he speaks of the destruction of churches and monasteries and other vexations of various kinds — these had to do with instrumentalities to compel many children of the church to embrace Islam¹².

The sources more often than has previously been the case report about pillaging and ravaging as well as the destructive fury initiated by local mobs. Any given mob ready for action swiftly noticed that the potentates had nothing against such mayhem; consequently the masses occasionally felt that they could indulge themselves in such violence. The rule of the Abbasids unleashed instincts which found their satisfaction in explosive outrages against the sanctuaries and their keepers. Once the mobs sensed that different winds were blowing under the new dynasty, they could not be restrained from fulfilling their urges. The chronicle under the name of Dionysios Tell-Mahrē reports that deep cuts were made into monasticism at the beginning of the rule of the Abbasids — as early as the year 751. Their forays resulted in catastrophes which engulfed a number of monasteries in the surroundings of Edessa. The chronicle enumerates ten monasteries which were pillaged and destroyed by such attacks. They were: Kubbē, Resmet, Tispa, Qatara, Hesmi, a

¹¹ *An Answer to the Dhimmis*, tr. GOTTHEIL, p. 422.

¹² «La légende de Bahira», éd. CARRA DE VAUX, p. 452.

famous monastery, Mār Lazar, Bēt Ma'ade, Mār Habil, Mār Miles and Sūnūn¹³.

The suffering which afflicted monasticism was aggravated by hard times¹⁴. This had the effect of increasing recklessness on the part of the people. Towards the end of the eighth century, heavy famines, natural catastrophes and epidemics occurred, and in a Syrian chronicle, we come across long jeremiads about these times in which people became brutal and shameless even against monks and ascetics. Indeed, among them were persons who did not shrink from attacking monks and ascetics, expelling recluses from their cells and stylites from their columns. Even anchorites who had withdrawn entirely were hunted down and they were made to suffer persecution and oppression¹⁵.

2. TAXATION BURDENS

Additional difficulties arose because of taxation and the measures adopted sometimes caused extreme hardship.

From the beginning, the size of the tribute was not altogether uniform in every case. We learn, later on, from Ya'qub that the imam was empowered to make such necessary adjustments as might be needed with regard to the tribute in accordance with the abilities of the inhabitants to meet it¹, which meant in the first place that an increase in the sum demanded from people in a more well-to-do situation always served as a good pretext².

Monks who lived in isolation, anchorites, reclusi and stylites were considered exempt from such obligations. According to Ḥassan al-Baṣri, the monks did not have to pay *jizya* because they were poor³. Ya'qub explains the matter in some detail. He places these monks in the category of persons unable to pay, that is, on the same level as those having to live from alms such as the chronically sick, persons who have neither profession nor income⁴. But this principle did not provide protection against occasional harassment and trouble. Eutychius tells about an

incident from the time of Caliph al-Muktadir. His emissary, sent to Egypt, began to demand tribute from monks as well as from the sick and poor. The monks, in despair, sent their delegation to the caliph in Iraq with complaints. Only then did he give an instruction not to vex the monks with the issue of the tribute and that the matter was to be left as it had been⁵.

Nor could the monasteries escape these vexations; they, for their part, attempted to mount a degree of opposition and resistance. Fictitious documents also were fabricated. For example, the inmates of the Monastery of Mār Gabriel claimed that the monastery, as a sign of respect from Caliph 'Umar, had received the privilege that freed the monks, priest and deacons from the obligation of tribute⁶. To what degree such attempts were successful must remain doubtful.

Ya'qub records one of the arguments used to justify the taxation of the monasteries. The monks who lived in monastic communities enjoyed a certain wealth by way of real estate, the property of the monastery; consequently, it would only be fair that they be obliged to bear the burden of taxation. Indeed, the abbot has a certain obligation to pay taxes also for his subordinates. Only in cases where monks lived in great poverty could the obligation to pay the taxes be waived, and even in such cases, there must be confirmation of their poverty under oath⁷ by the abbot.

That the poll tax was imposed also upon monks, a note preserved in a Syriac manuscript⁸ comes to our aid. According to this note, the Abbot Mōšē had to go to Baghdad in order to obtain the remission of the poll tax demanded from his monks. Although such actions were not always successful, in the case of poorer monasteries such efforts could not all have remained in vain. However, monasteries such as Dair Qura, south of Baghdad, east of Tigris, described as a blooming monastery with many buildings⁹ and gardens¹⁰, had to carry heavy burdens of taxation.

That which appears in a letter written by Catholicos Ḥenanīšō' IV also illumines the situation. In this letter, he speaks of a certain monastery

⁵ About him, see page 373f.

⁶ «Un colloque du patriarche Jean», éd. NAU, p. 274f.

⁷ *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, p. 188.

⁸ This took place in the year 926/7. Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,531, WRIGHT, *Catalogue* II, p. 740.

⁹ JAQ, *Iršād* II, p. 24.

¹⁰ This monastery had many little buildings and each was furnished with a garden and fruit trees, SCHABUSCHTI, *Das Klosterbuch*, fol. 115b.

¹³ *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, éd. CHABOT, p. 50.

¹⁴ ABRAMOWSKI, *Dionysius von Tellmahre*, *passim*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹ YA'QUB, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, tr. FAGNAN, p. 218.

² EL-BOKHARI, *Les traditions islamiques*, tr. HOUDAS-MARÇAIS II, p. 407.

³ *Adab ul-kuttab*, ed. BAHDJAT AL-ATARI, p. 216.

⁴ *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, tr. FAGNAN, p. 188.

which had suffered economically and was in a condition of such distress that it needed help and appeals to people to provide support to remedy the situation. He lays this request upon their hearts in order to try to relieve the burden of taxation which had been imposed upon the monastery¹¹.

The amount of the taxes and the tributes assigned to the monasteries and monks depended upon the attitude and mood of the emirs and other potentates. That in turn caused a good deal of trouble for the abbots and the monastic communities. Such worries did not make the position of an abbot at all an enviable one. That which the Arab rule in this respect allowed in the fixing of revenues and in the collection of taxes and tribute is amply illustrated in the sources. The oriental despots did not content themselves with lawful means, particularly where money was involved. Just as the caliphs, in their greed, did not weigh the means they used to exact what they wanted, just so did the lesser potentates emulate and even exceed their superiors with their machinations. Whereas these potentates made the collection of regular revenues as rigorous as possible, they also exercised great ingenuity in inventing all sorts of ways to impose new obligations. A Syrian chronicle bluntly states that taxation in general and the collection of the revenues in particular did not differ much from outright robbery¹². In the same way did these potentates devise other avenues of extortion to acquire precious vessels and articles of value¹³.

Other restrictions were inspired by the same bent of mind. We do not have a good example from west Syrian sources, so we shall introduce a paragraph from a law book composed by Catholicos Išō'bar Nūn (820-824). This paragraph stipulates that when anyone wishes to become a monk, he is not allowed to take anything from his parents' house, whether they be rich or poor; further, that when his father dies, he has no right to inherit anything from the estate. The most that could be allowed under this stipulation was a gift, under the explicit circumscription that it had to consist of food or clothing which his brothers had decided to give him and that, in accepting it he had to be aware of the fact that it was only a gift and not an inheritance¹⁴. The income of the monasteries for

¹¹ *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, ed. SACHAU II, 9.

¹² *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré* II, p. 381. Cf. CAHEN, «Fiscalité, propriété, antagonismes sociaux en Haute-Mésopotamie», p. 136ff.

¹³ *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, tr. POCKOCK II, p. 145.

¹⁴ *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, ed. SACHAU II, p. 147.

centuries had received vital support for the development of their establishments from gifts by way of inheritance — that source of income was now cut off.

3. VEXATIONS AND SUFFERINGS

The caliphs increasingly adopted the manners of oriental despots. Already Caliph Mahdi (775-785) earned notoriety by his oppression and violence. Bar 'Ebrāyā speaks of the destruction of many churches under his rule¹. This report happens to be substantiated by a monumental inscription preserved in the ruins of a church². The reputation of Hārūn al-Rašīd also is tarnished by certain measures authorized by him, actions which did not accord with his celebrated intelligence. He issued orders whose intent was the humiliation of Christians. Christians in Baghdad could not imitate Muslims in dress or manner of riding³. He also exercised his own brand of reason in support of actions of destruction. He overcame the problem of the scarcity of building material for his wide building projects by way of an order to destroy churches and monasteries⁴. Indeed, under the caliphs it became quite the usual practice to demolish buildings to obtain building materials⁵ and Christians perforce had to endure the desecration of their religious buildings to provide material for building projects of the rulers. Sometimes such licence was extended to the inhabitants themselves — they were compelled to leave their abodes⁶. Among the despotic figures who occupied the seat of the caliphs, one is particularly remembered in connection with violent action. Al-Mutawakkil earned a particular reputation in this respect⁷. He introduced the laws of harassment which were enforced in the year 849/50 regarding dress⁸. Wooden figures of devils were affixed to

¹ *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 126.

² POGNON, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie*, p. 149.

³ They were allowed to use only wooden saddles; Christian women were not allowed to use horses but only donkeys.

⁴ MARI, *De patriarchis nest. commentaria*, p. 65.

⁵ MUSTAWFI, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, tr. LE STRANGE, p. 51.

⁶ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert. II*, p. 3.

⁷ BAR 'EBRAYA, *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. BRUNS-KIRSCH, p. 162.

⁸ The Christians had to wear yellow cloaks and two buttons on their caps which differed in color from those worn by the Arabs. Regarding riding they were allowed to use only wooden stirrups and saddles behind, ṬABARĪ, *Tar'rikh ar-rusul* III, I, p. 389; BAR 'EBRAYA, *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 155.

the houses of the Christians⁹. His decrees prohibited Christians from carrying the cross in processions during festivals and from holding their services in the streets. These were the extreme limits of the legislation of persecution¹⁰. However, it must be added that, in practice, they were not always put into effect. Al-Mutawakkil also had ordered the destruction of churches and monasteries¹¹. Mari has preserved such a report¹² but without more detailed information which thus makes it unclear just how widely this order was implemented.

The increasingly inflexible, more rigorous spirit of such despotic caliphs soon inclined the emirs towards acts of violence. Maslama, the emir of Iran and Khorasan, undertook an action which caused much terror and vexation among Christian communities¹³. It is reported that the emir of Ḥarrān, when taking a walk, noticed new buildings and asked his companions to whom these buildings belonged. Upon hearing that they belonged to the Christians and that they had erected them during his days, he issued the order for the demolition of all of the new religious buildings¹⁴.

During the following times, such actions sporadically occurred from time to time. When in the year 832, the Emir Abdallah was in Egypt, the destruction of churches and monasteries of the Monophysites and Melkites took place. The brother of the caliph gave his endorsement to the destruction, so instigating the mob that control became impossible. In his distress, the patriarch of the Monophysite church had to appeal to the emir that he would intervene to bring the raging and uproar to an end¹⁵. Even the Chalcedonians could not escape the pogrom. Bar 'Ebrāyā supplements this account with the comment that this destruction also included the convent of the Chalcedonian nuns¹⁶. With regard to mob instigations, instructive insight is allowed us via an episode which occurred when Caliph Ḥārūn al-Rašīd visited Edessa. The Arabs

⁹ ṬABARĪ, *Tar'rikh ar-rusul* II, I, p. 389; MAQRIZI, *Khiṭaṭ* II, p. 494.

¹⁰ Caliph Mutawakkil enforced the law that no non-Muslim is entitled to be in the government service.

¹¹ In the year 853 he gave the order to destroy all sanctuaries, ṬABARĪ, *Tar'rikh ar-rusul* III, p. 1419.

¹² *De patriarchis nest commentaria*, p. 70.

¹³ Maslama ordered to destroy all pictures whether in ecclesiastical buildings, houses or books as well as all images regardless whether in ivory, stone or wood; *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* I, p. 308.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 271f.

¹⁶ *Chronicon eccl.*, ed. ABBELOOS-LAMY I, col. 359.

instigated the mob slandering Christians, accusing them of being spies of the Byzantine emperor who annually came secretly to Edessa to meet with them. They urged the caliph to destroy the great church and to forbid the use of the *nākūs*. It was only through the urgent counsel of Yahya, his secretary, that that action was not allowed to happen¹⁷. However, such violence did occur elsewhere and the mob was able to achieve the prohibition of the use of the *nākūs*. That was the case at Malatya¹⁸. Eliyā of Nisibis provides us with information about mob action in Baghdad. In the year 884/85, an uproar of the inhabitants against the Christians took place because the Christians had ignored the prohibitions and did not obey the regulations on the riding of horses. The mob ravaged the Monastery of Kelīl Iṣḥāq — all gold and silver vessels were stolen, and even the wood of the building was removed to be sold. The monastery was completely destroyed¹⁹. Baghdad also saw such savaging on occasions. Nor was the monastery of the catholicos spared this ordeal. One incident occurred under the rule of Catholicos Jōhannān bar Narsai. It subsequently was repeatedly attacked²⁰.

In this connection, a piece of legislation should be included. A canon, established by Jōhannān bar Abgārē at the synod held in the year 900, conjures up a picture of the sad conditions of life then obtaining. The canon speaks of fixed altars to be established only in towns, settlements and places of relative security and outside the areas of persecution under the barbarians²¹.

The nearer the time marking the end of the first millenium, the more did excesses of this kind take place. In the year H. which begins with May, 921, the Muslims arranged a pogrom in Damascus. In the course of the violence, the Monastery of Mary and the adjacent magnificent church of Mary were robbed, plundered and destroyed²². According to Eutychios²³ and Maqrizi²⁴, several other monasteries also suffered on this occasion. Such outbursts occasionally also demanded lives. An anonymous chronicle speaks of the slaughter of monks and solitaries on the Mount of Mardē in Ṭūr 'Abdīn²⁵.

¹⁷ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* II, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 35.

¹⁹ *Opus chronologicum*, ed. CHABOT.

²⁰ AMR, *De patriarchis nest. commentaria*, p. 43.

²¹ 'ABDĪŠŌ, *Nomocanon*, ed. ASSEMANI, p. 238.

²² AL-MAKIN, *Historia saracenica*, tr. ERPENIUS, p. 196.

²³ *Annales*, tr. POCKOCK II, p. 515.

²⁴ *Khiṭaṭ* II, p. 494.

²⁵ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* I, p. 245, 331.

Harassment and vexation increased as time passed. More and more we hear of local potentates allowing the mob to employ violent measures; they themselves also showed an intransigent intolerance, harassing the monks in every way²⁶. Dionysios of Tell Mahrē reports that the emir appointed by Caliph Abu Džafar over Mosul treated the monks with such hostility that the monks did not dare to show themselves on the streets for fear of instigating mob action²⁷. In such a poisoned atmosphere, matters run out of control and in places developed to the level of savage epidemics. The same Dionysios of Tell Mahrē reports that the people not out of need but out of greed had become accustomed to affluence, craving the possessions which belonged to the monasteries, asserting that monasteries needed no earthly goods²⁸ whatever.

In addition to all of these calamities, other catastrophies aggravated the situation. The chronicle of Petros ibn Rahīb relates that during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847-861), a very great earthquake traversed Persia, Khorasan, Syria and Yemen. Thousands of buildings collapsed, villages fell into ruins and the monasteries, too, had to give their share²⁹.

4. CONTRADICTIONARY FORCES IN THE ABBASIDS' RULES

In making a summary of the conditions of life under which Syrian monasticism had to live during the period of Abbasids, it becomes necessary to put diametrically opposite tendencies side by side. This, indeed, is paradoxical but it has its place in the Abbasid period and must be taken into account in the final assessment.

On the one hand, it is incontrovertibly clear that the spirit of the Muslims had become harder. The dynasty of the Abbasids has produced many oriental despots who suppressed their subjects and did not spare even their own people¹. The row of such caliphs is long. Yet, alongside of these despots there are others whose character was quite different and whose actions were humane.

Among the most outstanding caliphs of the latter caliber was Caliph al-Māmūn². The apology written by al-Kindi has preserved a speech of

this caliph which shows that liberal views did exist also among the Abbasids³. He gathered just collaborators⁴ and demanded of all who shared administrative power just and blameless way of treatment, punishing transgressors by exile and the confiscation of their properties⁵. Caliph al-Māmūn has written an impressive page in the annals of the variegated, sometimes indistinct and obscure ranks of his fellow caliphs⁶.

In the same way did the religious policy of the Abbasids display a divided character. A number of caliphs have been connected with rules and regulations to humiliate and oppress the Christians and their institutions. Caliph al-Mutawakkil has earned a particular reputation in this respect⁷. On paper many things were prohibited though it is true that not all of these laws were enforced. But rulers of the opposite type are also not entirely absent. Caliph al-Māmūn took Christians under particular protection, defending them against the harm that came from the Arabs as well as from the Persians. This is what the Christian sources relate⁸. The same al-Māmūn even planned for enactment a very liberal law on religious and ecclesiastical freedom⁹.

The same paradox can be seen also in the attitude of the local potentates. The potentate appointed by Abu Džafar over Mosul and its surroundings — a brutal Jew, Mūsā ibn Mus'ab — invented unheard of punishments for Christians, imposed the most onerous tribute possible, put tin coins around their necks¹⁰ and had their thumbs cut off¹¹. On the other hand, there were potentates who showed a human spirit. Some were even ready to help and made no secret about their friendly attitude towards Christians¹².

In the everyday contacts between Muslims and Christians, the same paradoxical phenomenon appears. On the one hand, there were loud voices demanding the complete isolation of the Christians, particularly in

³ *An Apology of al-Kindi*, tr. MUIR, p. XII f.

⁴ AL-ĞAHSIYARI, *Kitab al-Wuzara*, ed. MZIK, p. 38.

⁵ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert. II*, p. 15.

⁶ SOURDEL, «La politique religieuse du Calife 'Abbaside al-Ma'mun», p. 27 ff.

⁷ See page 367 f.

⁸ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert. II*, p. 15.

⁹ According to this draft every religious community, even if not more than ten members could elect its own spiritual leader whom he promised to acknowledge. The caliph had to bow before the pressure of the hierarchal powers to take the draft back.

¹⁰ According to the Talmud, the Jews marked their slaves in this way, KRAUSS, *Talmudische Archeologie II*, p. 89.

¹¹ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert. I*, p. 20.

¹² AMR, *De patriarchis nest. commentaria*, p. 91.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 272.

²⁷ *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahrē*, p. 91.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁹ *Chronicon orientale*, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 72.

¹ Among these despots is Abu Džafar who has ruthlessly burdened the people with taxes, *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. BRUNS-KIRSCH, p. 130.

² AS-SUYUTI, *History of the Caliphs*, p. 319.

religious matters¹³. Hostile and violent actions have been mentioned earlier. On the other hand, the sources also show something different. They describe how Muslims, with pleasure, were visiting the monasteries¹⁴, participating in festivals celebrated in the monastic communities¹⁵. Such good relations between the Muslims and the Christians particularly come to the fore in the common celebrations of the great festivals of the Christian year, as well as in the festive days of the patron saints of the chief monasteries¹⁶. Monasteries were, indeed, places where Muslims could not only go to enjoy drinking¹⁷ but also for religious purposes, for instance, to give their solemn vows. Al-Hašimi, in his public letter to al-Kindi, writes that he has visited many monasteries and became acquainted with many monks¹⁸. In such sources, one receives the impression that intercourse with Christians, in practice, was not always reckless and that Christians did not always have to feel they were a suppressed class. The authoritative author, al-Džahiz, who flourished in the first part of the ninth century, illumines the situation and the general conditions then obtaining. He complains that the Christians do not at all carry the *zunnār*-girdle, the obligatory mark required by the law, or they carried it only beneath their garments; their payment of the poll tax has not taken place in the proper spirit of humble submissiveness nor do they allow themselves to suffer railing and vituperation from the Muslims, but struck back, indulging in the same sort of thing against the Muslims. Yet, after these indignant comments, al-Džahiz finally asks — and this is most interesting — why should they not act in this way when Muslim judges in cases before the court consider the blood of a Christian to be equal to the blood of an Abbas or Hamza¹⁹. This picture can be supplemented with an episode which occurred five decades later, recorded in the biographical lexicon of al-Qifti. According to this source, the physician Sinan requests an opinion of the vezir about the practice followed in the Bimaristan, the most famous hospital in Baghdad, where it had always been the custom to treat and nurse on an equal basis Muslim, as well as non-Muslim subjects, i.e. Christians and Jews. The

¹³ EL-BOKHARI, *Les traditions islamiques*, tr. HOUDAS-MARÇAIS IV, p. 574.

¹⁴ *Kitāb al-Aghani*, ed. GUIDI, p. 679, cf. p. 461.

¹⁵ YĀQŪT, *Mu'gam al-buldān* II, p. 634, 681, 683, 695 et passim.

¹⁶ FISCHER, *Christliche Klöster in muhammedanischen Ländern*, p. 1ff.

¹⁷ *Arabische Erzählungen aus der Zeit der Kaliphen*, tr. SACHAU, p. 7.

¹⁸ AL-HĀŠIMI, *Risāla ilā 'Abd-al-Masīh al-Kindi*, p. 6.

¹⁹ *Risāla fi redd en-nasāra*, ed. FINKEL, p. 19.

vezir replied that while it was true that the Muslims have privileges, others, too, must be carefully treated²⁰. Under such conditions and in such an atmosphere, it even became possible — if what al-Farisi reports about Hims is true — for Muslims and Christians to use one and the same house of God²¹.

Finally, while Christians had to endure the ravaging and even the destruction of monasteries and churches, one receives the impression that a situation which imperiled everything with liquidation and destruction was created. Regardless of frequent acts of destruction under Caliph al-Mahdi, the situation actually could not have become unbearable; some years later, in the year 783, Catholicos Timotheos I, in speaking to his time, does not issue any condemnation of the regime of the Muslims²².

Caliphs destroyed churches and monasteries in order to obtain building material for their building projects, that is known. However, some of them did not act in this way. Caliph al-Mu'tasim did not use force against the monastery when he wanted to build his palace in Samarra. Nor did he order the demolition of the monastery in order to carry out his plans; instead, he bought it²³ for four thousand dinars from the monks²⁴. He respected the existence of the monastic community and did not use the avenue of requisition which was open to him.

Even in the instances of demolition, some contradictory phenomena appear. Such dismantling frequently took place under the force of impulse and attempts were sometimes made later on to make good the acts of violence. Ibrahim, the emir of Harrān, ordered every newly erected building to be demolished before sunset. A number of sanctuaries were destroyed. However, by the following morning, he had changed his mind and ordered them to be restored gradually. They were quickly restored²⁵.

Another incident comes from the region of Edessa. The brother of the emir, acting as deputy, harassed the monks and destroyed buildings, but the Emir Abdallah ordered the destroyed buildings to be restored, that the culprits were to be severely punished²⁶. Caliph al-Muktadir (908-32)

²⁰ *Ta'rikh al-hukama*, ed. LIPPERT, p. 194.

²¹ *Viae regnorum, Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. DE GOEJE, p. 52.

²² *The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch Before the Caliph Mahdi*, ed. MINGANA, p. 61f.

²³ MAS'UDI, *Kitab ut tanbih wal ishraf*, p. 357.

²⁴ YĀ'QUBI, *Les pays*, tr. WIET, p. 6.

²⁵ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* II, p. 10.; BAR 'EBRĀYĀ, *Chronicon eccl.*, col. 139.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

ordered the buildings which were destroyed during the pogrom arranged by Muslims to be restored²⁷. And when Caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd, in justification of demolitions ordered by him, commanded Ya'qūbi to formulate a policy to the effect that the new buildings of the Christians had to be demolished²⁸, it is not probable that he had the demolition of all the newly erected buildings in mind. Christians tried to replace their losses and, according to a report given by Mari, Catholicos Timotheos had been able to haggle some sort of permission for the restoration of the monasteries²⁹ from the same caliph. This report cannot be confirmed by other sources.

The entire picture of the era is permeated by the same paradoxical phenomena. Despite all the restrictions on the erection of new ecclesiastical buildings, the fact is that monasteries appeared in many places, as they appeared in almost all quarters of Baghdad.

Thus, the era of the Abbasids leaves us with the impression of a strange situation, full of contradictions and paradoxes. Intolerance alternates with tolerance³⁰, and suppression and violence with understanding. This bi-polar tension is to be seen across the generations of this era. Even in times when the supremacy of Islam loudly was proclaimed and forcefully carried out, the situation did not become ultimately threatening for the Christians.

XVI. CONDITIONS DURING THE ERA OF THE ABBASIDS (Continuation)

1. THE VITALITY OF MONASTICISM

Up to now, we have traced only the hardships and difficulties which the Abbasid period brought to monasticism. By comparison with the rule of the Umayyads, this period was more severe. Yet all the curtailments and difficulties had not yet become so perilous as to cause serious decline. Despite everything, the Abbasid period did not bring about massive changes. Without a doubt, this epoch did not allow Syrian monasticism the luxury of attaining the former level and spirit of its floriation. But it did show enough tenacity and stamina to survive the harder times and to carry on its existence. We can therefore not speak of a decline of Syrian monasticism before the middle of the tenth century. Before that time, it was still able to demonstrate its strength; the Abbasid period could not take the spirit of resistance from it.

Unmistakable evidence of the vitality of Syrian monasticism must be seen not only in the fact that it was able to continue its existence with the existing network of monasteries, but also was able to expand by creating and expanding new monasteries. Given the more rigorous spirit, the erection of new monasteries was forbidden and this restriction was reinforced time and again by threats and warnings. This official prohibition continued until Adud-ed-daulah, through his Christian vezir, Nasr ben Hārūn, finally annulled it in the year H. 368, i.e. 979 A.D.¹. In the meantime, however, Syrian monasticism did not simply wait for the annulment but exercised a considerable tenacity in finding ways to found new monasteries. The more outstanding of the monasteries which have secured their role in the history of monasticism deserve to be introduced as illustrations of the spirit that lived in these communities.

In the first place, a famous monastery established in the second part of the eighth century, must be introduced. Athanasios Sandalayā, a monk from the Monastery of Qarṭamīn was a celebrated metropolitan of

²⁷ *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, p. 228.

²⁸ See page 369.

²⁹ *De patriarchis nest. commentaria* I, p. 65f.

³⁰ NOTH, «Möglichkeiten und Grenzen islamischer Toleranz», p. 190ff.

¹ MISKAWAIHI, *The Concluding Portion of the Experiences of the Nations*, tr. MARGOLIOUTH II, p. 447.

Maipherqaṭ who later was elevated to the patriarchal throne. His name is connected with the foundation of this monastery. The exact date of its founding is not known but it must be placed at the beginning of the Abbasid period. The institution in question is the Monastery of Athūnōs². According to Michael Syrus the monastery was located above the region of Tell Bešmē³.

It is useful to focus one's gaze upon the new capital. According to the sources, Caliph Abu Džafar founded Baghdad in the year 762 at a place where there was a village of the same name and where, according to Ya'qūbi, a monastery also was located⁴. That monasteries could secure a firm footing in the new capital speaks volumes. Here, under Caliph al-Mahdi (775-85), the Monastery of Deir ar-Rūm was built⁵. It was a magnificent establishment. Its complex embraced an imposing church near the residence of the catholicos. It is all the more remarkable that this could take place under the eyes of a caliph whose reputation has been tarnished by his reprisals against Christians and the destruction of monasteries.

Later on, the Monastery of Samālū was founded in Baghdad⁶. The West Syrians, too, founded their monastery here⁷. Thus, under the eyes of the caliphs in their resident city, quite a number of monasteries could be founded according to the information given by Yāqūt and Šabuštī⁸.

The founding of yet another monastery associated with a celebrated name is now to be introduced. Towards the end of the century, the founding of the Monastery by Jōhannān of Dalyathā took place. After a longer period in the anchoritic life in the mountains of Qardū, he founded this monastery⁹. It soon developed into an outstanding monastery and, in a later source on the founders of monasteries, it appears among the most important monasteries established during the Islamic era¹⁰.

Patriarch Dionysios of Tell Maḥrē (817-45), who had previously been a monk in Qennešrē, experienced a good deal of difficulty in order to

² *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahrē*, p. 58.

³ *Chronique IV*, p. 483.

⁴ YA'QŪBĪ, *Les pays*, tr. WIET, p. 6.

⁵ YĀQŪT, *Mu'ğam al-buldān II*, p. 670.

⁶ See page 365, 374.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 662.

⁸ ŠABUŠTĪ, *Das Klosterbuch*.

⁹ See page 334f.

¹⁰ *Collectio documentorum hactenus inedita*, ed. RAHMANI, p. 34.

extract permission for the building of the monastery from the Emir 'Othman¹¹. The monastery had been destroyed by fire before he was elevated to the patriarchal see. It is obvious that he obtained the permission and built the monastery, since it is reported that he found his last resting place there. The notion that he might have been buried in the ruins of the destroyed monastery is not credible.

Under the rule of the same patriarch, another famous monastery was built, namely, the Monastery of Ja'qōb of Kaišūm. We are very fortunate that further confirmation comes from epigraphic sources. A monumental inscription in the ruins of the monastery comes to our aid. While the exact year of the erection of the monastery is not mentioned, it is stated that Dionysios was the patriarch and Mar Theodoros was the bishop at the time the monastery was erected¹².

North of Tell 'Adē, ruins are located which once belonged to a great monastery. The memory of its founding has been resuscitated via a monumental inscription cut into a huge stone which tells us about its construction. Timotheos, or if an alternate way of reading is adopted, Matteos¹³, had built this monastery in the year 1170 according to the era of the Seleucides, i.e. 858/A.D.¹⁴. Thus this grand monastery was erected near the end of the rule of Caliph al-Mutawakkil.

Still more light comes from epigraphic sources. A very impressive monastic building, which contains a magnificent mosaic pavement, has come to light through archaeological excavations in the area of Jordan. A monumental inscription in Syriac, inscribed in the pavement, tells us that this monastery was erected in the ninth century¹⁵.

The testimony given by monasteries which have earned their reputation and fame in the history of monasticism is illuminating. It also speaks on behalf of other less important establishments. New monasteries must have been added, particularly in the Tūr 'Abdīn area, to the great monastic centers there during the era of Abbasids. Information, provided by the evidence to which we have just referred, points to a broader, ampler picture in the history of the expansion of the monastic establishments, a picture which is reflected through the canons and resolutions

¹¹ BAR 'EBRĀYĀ, *Chronicon eccl.* I, col. 350.

¹² JALABERT-MOUTERDE, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie I*, p. 61.

¹³ LITTMANN, *Syriac Inscriptions*, p. 19.

¹⁴ POGNON, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie*, p. 54.

¹⁵ STEPHEN-BARAMKI, «A Nestorian Hermitage Between Jericho and the Jordan», p. 83.

in this era. The sources leave us with the impression that Syrian monasticism, for the most part, in this era even was able to retain a spirit which the vexations of the Abbasid dynasty could not very seriously affect. There are signs which speak of the perseverance and tenacity of this spirit. It is true that the number of outstanding personalities, the ascetic celebrities has shrunk and this indicates a setback, but it would appear that the same enthusiastic, even fanatical, forms of monastic life could be continued in the monasteries and in the cells of the anchorites.

This shows that the fountainhead of that enthusiasm had not dried up, although it could not flow with the same previous freshness. Nevertheless, the life impulses were still able to flow at a time when that was not any longer in other places. That is the perspective which must be brought out before we conclude this chapter. This issue needs to be put into proper historical perspective in order to evaluate the place and role of Syrian monasticism more properly as over against the wider scene.

First of all, we must direct our gaze towards Egypt. Observations made by Dionysios of Tell-Mahrē of Egyptian monasticism, in the year 825 or 826, help us to form a better estimate of Syrian monasticism at that time. According to his testimony, Egyptian monasticism, during that period, was in a full decline. Intellectually and spiritually, it had lost its spirit. Study among the monks had been forgotten. Their activities consisted only of handwork; even the Psalter they rarely recited¹. By comparison with this scenario, Syrian monasticism exhibits a far more energetic spirit and greater stamina. Perhaps it is only some years earlier that we see al-Hāsimī admiring the severity of the asceticism² of the Syrian monks and the level of their intellectual education³. Thus, throughout the era of the Abbasids, the gravitation point of the monastic movement remained in Syrian monasticism numerically as well as spiritually and intellectually.

It is time to direct a look towards Byzantium. An estimate can be made with greater assurance when another side-glimpse is taken, this time at Byzantine monasticism. Regardless of the fact that it had the privilege of living and developing under Christian rulers, it suffered deterioration. In this connection, a very useful document comes to our aid. Patriarch Johannes IV of Antioch, one of the contemporaries of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), composed an historically interesting document⁴.

¹ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique* IV, p. 525f.

² *Risālat 'Abdallāh ibn Ismā'el al-Hāsimī*, p. 10.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Oratio de disciplina monastica*, ed. MIGNE, PG CXXXII, col. 1117f.

about the decline of the Byzantine monasticism during these centuries. That which is presented in this source brings out the problems which beset Byzantine monasticism and undermined it. The secularization of the monasteries as an instrument to undermine them — an ingenious invention of the rulers — was very dangerous. As early as Constantinos V Kopronymos (741-775), monasteries were given to rich people and to meritorious persons as rewards⁵. Thus was initiated a process of profanation which rapidly reached ghastly dimensions, devastating the entire monastic movement⁶. Monks, together with their abbots, virtually became servants of lay people⁷. As a result, the entire monastic movement went downhill, and that to such a degree that as the author bluntly affirms, it had become impossible even to introduce reforms because of resistance on the part of the monks who had become accustomed to a life of laxity⁸.

In the light of the wider panorama in history, including the Byzantine monasticism, it is not difficult to make the final estimate: as long as the Arab empire continued in strength, Syrian monasticism, in general, experienced relatively good times.

⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 1128f.

⁶ At the time of Patriarch Johannes, the large and small, rich and poor monasteries for monks and nuns, except only a small number, were in the hands of the lay people, *ibid.*, col. 1129ff. This source describes how impossible had become the situation in the monasteries: the laymen killed there their animals, ate and drank and did all whatever thinkable.

⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 1141ff.

⁸ *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER VI, p. 64f.

XVII. THE VORTEX OF CATASTROPHES AND THE DECLINE

1. DESTRUCTIVE FORCES

The second part of the tenth century saw the swift decline of Syrian monasticism. This period stands under the sign of rapid deterioration. The fact that Syrian monasticism later on had a better time of it for a while, when it enjoyed a brief period of revived life in the aftermath, points to the fact that the reasons for the decline cannot be sought in monasticism itself. Outside conditions were responsible; they were of such a far-reaching impact that neither Syrian Christianity nor monasticism could survive in the vortex catastrophe.

In the place, one must take the disintegration of the caliphate into account. Already towards the end of the ninth century, clear symptoms that the caliphate had passed its time began to appear. The era of the Caliph al-Motamed Ollah was so saturated with disorders, raids and wars, that the first cracks in the walls of the empire of the caliphs began to haunt those who could read the signs of times¹.

The disintegration of the structure of the caliphate was not long in coming. After the death of Caliph al-Radi, perhaps in part even during his lifetime, a new phase began for the caliphs. Al-Fakhri states that al-Radi in truth was the last whose authority over the army and the finance, and even otherwise was strong enough to maintain the traditions of his predecessors; his successors were hardly able to retain much more than their titles².

The time came when the usurpers began to divide up the legacy of the caliphs. Around the middle of the tenth century, the territory was divided among emirs who seldom or never deigned to deal with the caliphs.

New potentates were emerging behind the Oxus River, potentates keenly following the development, sensing that their time had arrived. They were the Turks. The influence on these non-Arab elements became a serious danger, threatening to overpower the Islamic state³. Attempts

were made to evade the danger by parceling out the land that regrettably only dismembered the empire. Miskawaihi tells us how the Turks seized lands in the year H. 348, which began in 959 A. D., took the finance into their hands and subordinated authoritative persons under their yoke⁴. As time passed, they continued to barbarize the caliphate, dismembering its strength so that the caliphs finally had nothing left but religious functions. Real power gradually slipped into the Turks. At the turn of the millenium, the chroniclers could begin a new chapter in their annals, the era of the Turks.

This rapid decline is illustrated by an instructive phenomenon, namely that in the tenth century took a rapid decline in the use of the Syriac at a pace that by the eleventh century Arabic had taken over in speech and writing.

2. DEVASTATION

The collapse of the central power inevitably invited incursions, raids, savage attack and wars. While even during the earlier better time, the caliphs were not always able fully to control the dangers — the raids, marauding and devastation by tribes with an appetite for robbery and devastation which increasingly brought sufferings and losses to the monasteries⁵ — now the last obstacles to curb such devastations and havocs were removed. Now the gangs of the Turks and Dailamites continually were on the prowl. The whole of Mesopotamia was pillaged by their forays and predatory raids. The Kurds, in particular, became daring and bold. Caliph al-Māmūn had already had trouble with them⁶, but at that time the caliphate still had the authority and means at its disposal to take appropriate action; now there was no power which

founded a bodyguard of 4,000 Turks and Turcomans. Thereby he called out evil spirits which began to trouble him almost immediately, making it impossible for him to stay in Baghdad. Thus the seat of the government had to be removed to Samarra on the Tigris.

⁴ *The Concluding Portion of the Experiences of the Nations*, tr. MARGOLIOUTH I, p. 189.

⁵ Qudāmāh ibn Ja'far, a tenth century Arab geographer, reports that every year 3 military expeditions were undertaken against the Byzantines. Michael Syrus relates of the year 841 that the tribe of Rabi'ayē plundered and pillaged the regions of Nisibis, Šiggār, Tūr 'Abdīn and Qardū, *Chronique*, ed. CHABOT IV, p. 540. These were the areas with the most important monastic centers.

⁶ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.*, ed. CHABOT II, p. 25.

¹ EUTYCHIUS, *Annales*, ed. CHEIKHO - DE VAUX - ZAYYAT, p. 241.

² *Histoire des dynasties musulmanes*, tr. AMAR, p. 484f.

³ These troubles had a prehistory. It was a fatal mistake that Caliph al-Mu'tasim (833-42) in order to relieve himself from the influence of the Arab troops of Khorasan, he

could set some limits upon their affrontery and audacity. In that hopeless situation, everyone looked helplessly on while the Turks were destroying towns and settlements en masse. One of the tragic examples was Kufa — its inhabitants were killed or taken as prisoners⁷. In the year 967, Damascus was beleaguered and this created such a perilous situation that no one dared to undertake a pilgrimage⁸. Many locations were completely pillaged and emptied of people, people who were killed or dragged off as prisoners⁹. When one reads the chronicle of Miskawaihi which is filled with accounts of countless inroads, raids, forays, pillages, predatory incursions and military expeditions, one receives the impression that wide areas of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia were depopulated.

The internal disintegration of the caliphate invited additional trouble from the outside. Byzantium had been awaiting such a time. It authorized several military expeditions intended to vanquish the remnants of Arab power. A beginning was made by Nicephoros who, in the year 958, defeated the Arabs on the boundaries of Syria and succeeded in capturing a number of towns, among others, Mopsvestia, Hierapolis, Emesa, Aleppo, Antioch; thereafter, the whole of Northern Mesopotamia was pillaged by incursions¹⁰. The Christian chronicles speak of murdered inhabitants, people who were taken as prisoners and of burned down settlements¹¹. Ghastly gaps were cut into the population¹². Entire regions were deprived of human beings¹³. For instance, Melitene was left in such a miserable condition that it had to be settled anew with people brought there from elsewhere¹⁴.

Johannes Zimiskes developed military expeditions, the grave consequences of which, for the population and the land, extended even farther. The sources speak of two military expeditions: one after the death of Phokas into the north of Mesopotamia, reaching as far as Baghdad, and the other against the Fatimides in Southern Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine. Of both, he himself speaks in a letter sent to king Ašot III of Armenia¹⁵. Christian chronicles describe the ghastly bloodbaths and

destructions exacted by these expeditions¹⁶. The catastrophe of Nisibis may serve as an illustration. When the town fell, its surroundings devastated, he let the inhabitants be killed and brought the children into captivity¹⁷. The chronicle of Georgios Hamartolos tells about the undertakings by Zimiskes that the land up to Edessa and the Euphrates was ploughed up under the hoofs of the horses across which the sword of the Byzantines mowed like a scythe ...¹⁸. This is why Matthew of Edessa, who lived there as a monk, describes the last decades of the century as a time full of ruin and slavery. He claims that Syria and Mesopotamia had experienced such an effusion of blood that these lands were soaked by the blood of the Christians¹⁹.

3. ANNIHILATION

In the course of all of these trials, ordeals, tribulations and catastrophes, the attitude of Islam hardened towards the Christians. Phenomena now appeared which, on their part, contributed to the process moving towards the liquidation of Syrian Christianity. Miskawaihi describes for the year 971¹ the coercive tactics and reprisal measures which began to be used and which gradually developed into suppression² and persecution³. The conversions to Islam which had started earlier⁴ proceeded apace. At the turn of the millenium, Mari reports, this had become a tidal wave. An examination of the lists of episcopal ordinations at the end of the chronicle of Michael Syrus⁵ also reflects the rapid decline. All these changes which were inaugurated before the end of the century mirror deep cuts in the body of the Monophysite community.

Eliyā bar Šīnāyā, at the beginning of the new millenium, in a letter makes it clear just how deep the gaps in Christianity had been cut, how sharply the present differed from the time four decades earlier. According to him, the picture had changed so drastically that one could not compare

¹⁶ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert. II*, p. 41.

¹⁷ *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 202; MISKAWAIHI, *The Concluding Portion of the Experiences of the Nations II*, p. 326.

¹⁸ GEORGIOS MONACHUS, *Chronicon*, ed. MURALT, p. 865.

¹⁹ *Chronique*, p. 52.

¹ MISKAWAIHI, *The Concluding Portion of the Experiences of the Nations II*, p. 330f.

² ABU SHUJA RUDHRAWARI, *Continuation of the Experiences*, tr. MARGOLIOUTH, p. 443.

³ AMR, *De patriarchis nest. commentaria*, p. 49ff.

⁴ BAR 'EBRĀYĀ, *Chronicon eccl.* I, col. 388.

⁵ *Chronique III*, p. 465ff.

⁷ AL-MAKIN, *Historia saracenica*, tr. ERPENIUS, p. 190.

⁸ AS-SUYUTI, *History of the Caliphs*, tr. JARRETT, p. 421.

⁹ «Vie du moine Rabban Youssef», p. 84.

¹⁰ PO XVIII, p. 825f.

¹¹ *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. BRUNS-KIRSCH, p. 192.

¹² MISKAWAIHI, *The Concluding Portion of the Experiences of the Nations II*, p. 225f.

¹³ *Histoire de Yahya ibn Sa'ib*, ed. KRATCHKOVSKY-VASILJEV, p. 730, 733.

¹⁴ BAR 'EBRĀYĀ, *Chronicon eccl.*, ed. ABBELOOS-LAMY I, col. 411.

¹⁵ *Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse*, tr. DULAURIER, p. 15ff.

it in terms of the numbers of the Christians and the ecclesiastical institutions — so terribly had Christianity shrunk⁶. He feels that the Monophysites had not declined as much as the Nestorians, however, according to al-Biruni, the Nestorians constituted the greater part of Christendom⁷ in the region. Muslim authors, too, have made similar observations. While al-Farisi could observe, with regard to Persia, that the Christians⁸ ranked next to the community of Zoroastrism, Muqaddasi states that he had found only a few Christians there⁹.

The rapid decline is illustrated by another item — in the tenth century Syriac swiftly fell into disuse, indeed, at such a pace so that by the eleventh century, Arabic had taken over the field in speech and writing.

In the disasters which political anarchy brought upon itself, Syrian monasticism rapidly melted down. The necessity of Christians to seek refuge during the predatory raids, incursions and pillages in the monasteries, made these institutions vulnerable to attack. Countless monasteries were destroyed and uncounted monks killed or dispersed in the course of these violent actions.

The fate of the most celebrated monasteries illustrate the tragedy. The famous monastery of Šem'ōn, near Antioch, was conquered by the Arabs in the year 985. After a siege of three days, the greater part of the monks was killed¹⁰. At about the same time, the famous monastery of Mār Maron was destroyed; the Maronites were compelled to liquidate their spiritual center in Mesopotamia and move the remnants to Lebanon. Mas'ūdī relates that the monastery as well as the surrounding cells and huts of the anchorites were utterly demolished through repetitive despoliative raids of the Arabs¹¹. Just as famous monasteries disappeared, so did countless others of lesser fame and reputation.

Deep incisions and heavy wounds now marked the network of the monasteries and those that remained were reduced at a rapid rate. The Kurds especially became very dangerous for monasteries and monks, continually picking up those who had somehow managed to survive¹². They systematically¹³ carried out deeds of destruction¹⁴. The net result

⁶ «Ein Brief des Elias bar Šinaja», tr. VANDENHOFF, p. 65f.

⁷ AL-BIRUNI, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. SACHAU, p. 27.

⁸ AL-FARISI, *Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. DE GOEJE, p. 139.

⁹ *Descriptio imperii moslemici*, ed. DE GOEJE, p. 414.

¹⁰ *Historia saracenica*, p. 248.

¹¹ MAS'ŪDĪ, *Kitāb at-tanbīh*, ed. DE GOEJE, p. 153f.

¹² *Chronicon Syriacum*, p. 559.

¹³ *Chronicon ad ann. 1234 pert.* II, p. 46.

¹⁴ «Vie du moine Rabban Youssef», p. 83, 327.

of all these calamities was utterly dismal. Eliyā bar Šīnāyā gives an account of the situation in monasticism during his time. According to him, in less than forty years the chaotic conditions had brutally damaged monasticism: the network of the monasteries had dried together and the number of monks along with them¹⁵. The state of Monophysite monasticism is similar as reflected in the liquidation of bishoprics¹⁶ which had been known since older times as important centers of monasticism, centers such as Tellā Mauzelat, Qennešrīn, Dārā, Rēš'ainā.

Just how miserable the status of the monasteries had become is shown in a report by Jōhannān of Mardē who, more than a century after the turn of the millenium, gives us an account of the rest of the catastrophes which descended upon most important centers of monasteries. He speaks of Tūr 'Abdīn, the paradise of monasticism, unparalleled for its heavy concentration of monastic establishments — nearly one hundred monasteries were located there in better times¹⁷. At the time Jōhannān of Mardē wrote, not a single monk was left in Tūr 'Abdīn¹⁸ and even the memory of what a monk looked like had vanished from the recollection of the people.

¹⁵ «Brief des Elias bar Šinaja», p. 64f.

¹⁶ MICHAEL SYRUS, *Chronique* III, p. 473ff.

¹⁷ NIEBUHR found in this region ruins of 70 monasteries, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern* II, p. 388.

¹⁸ *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition* II, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 201ff.

fact that with the work of Jōḥannān, a new wind of enlivening power began to sweep through the eparchy of Mardē, i.e. the region of Ṭūr 'Abdīn. One senses that it was experienced like the arrival of springtime. It was to be the last springtime before more formidable catastrophes, destined to put Syrian Christian communities under the severest of tests for survival, were to arrive.

XIX. ATTEMPTS TO REVIVE THE LITERARY TREATMENT OF ASCETICISM

ATHANASIOS ABŪ GHALĪB

a. *His Writings*

So thorough was the restoration of monastic life in Ṭūr 'Abdīn under Jōḥannān of Mardē that it also aroused a stimulus, a revival of ascetic mystical works. Such stimuli were given by one who, indeed, had no rival in this period. We refer to Athanasios Abū Ghalīb.

Unfortunately, there has been much confusion about the person and his work. Wright introduced an Abū Ghalīb bar Sabūnī but, regrettably, this was not the right person. The Abū Ghalīb mentioned by Wright was raised to the episcopate of Edessa by Athanasios VII (1100-29) but he was soon deposed and died shortly after the death of the patriarch in 1129¹. However, this person belonged to a different period in time and cannot be the author in whom we are interested. Baumstark followed Wright in accepting this information without questioning its value². Nor in his latest treatment³ did he rectify matters. Chabot⁴ and also Ortiz de Urbina⁵ fail to help us in this connection.

That which had been preserved of this author's labors and which has been known for a long time consists of only one section of his monastic ascetic work⁶. A very late copy of his work next emerged in the collection of manuscripts of Mingana⁷. Of it, we are told that the work contained «admonitions on the schema of monasticism»⁸.

During my continuing forays to the Syrian Orient, new manuscript sources, which enable us to throw more light upon his literary activities

¹ *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 243f.

² *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 293.

³ «Syrische Literatur».

⁴ *Littérature syriaque*.

⁵ *Patrologia syriaca*.

⁶ Ms. Berlin Sachau 202, fol. 84aff.

⁷ Ms. Birm. Ming. Syr. 118; MINGANA, *Catalogue I*, col. 281ff.

⁸ *Ḥawāṣī Ṭūr 'Abdīn*.

and to study the contribution made by this author to asceticism and mysticism⁹, have been discovered.

The hiding place for the source to be introduced first was found in the collection of manuscripts in the Church of Mār Tūmā¹⁰ in Mosul. This document, which has no signature, is Ms. Mosul Mār Tūmā¹¹, a huge codex. The manuscript has no colophon and does not help us on chronological matters; on palaeographical grounds, the codex may be ascribed to the seventeenth century. This work bears the title: «Admonitions and exhortations on the schema of monasticism and anchoritism»¹². It deals with the premises for the ascetic life. It issues a critique on the laxity of the manners, emphasizing the importance of discipline. A historical note, added to the work, includes the information that he had set up a canon «under anathema» to the effect that no one is to be served by a woman, except his own mother and sister. The work also deals with levels in the movement of progression to deeper aspects of spirituality. In every way the work is eclectic in character and depends heavily upon works produced by monasticism.

In addition to this, the manuscript search and recovery program has been rewarded by the discovery of other manuscript sources. In fact, a cycle of them can be brought forward. One was found in the collection of manuscripts in Šarfeh¹³. Another was discovered in the collection of manuscripts in the patriarchate of the West Syrian Church¹⁴. This is an extensive codex¹⁵ furnished with a colophon¹⁶.

There is a portion of his work which represents the oldest stratum in the transmission of the text. This source has emerged in a codex which comes from the collection of manuscripts in the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā or Deir Za'farān, in Ṭūr 'Abdīn, namely, Ms. Mardin Orth. 417. This codex is a very huge composite manuscript¹⁷ which has incorporated many works of ascetic and mystical authors. A section of a work by Abū Ghalīb has been included in it. Carrying the title: «On

⁹ VÖÖBUS, «Important Discoveries For the History of Syrian Mysticism».

¹⁰ The church belongs to the Syrian Catholic Church.

¹¹ The codex comprises 26 kurrāsē with 262 folio pages written in 2 columns.

¹² *Ḥawāṣṣ al-ḥayāt wa-ḥawāṣṣ al-ṣalāt*.

¹³ Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 104; the manuscript was copied in the year 1909 A. D.

¹⁴ Ms. Damascus Patr. 10/3.

¹⁵ Quire 1, fol. 2b - quire 18, fol. 9a.

¹⁶ According to the colophon the codex was copied in the year 1918 by Mattheos bar Paulos.

¹⁷ See VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

Solitude»¹⁸, it has been deemed worthy of standing side by side with works of eminent and celebrated authors¹⁹. It is the earliest layer which could be unearthed — according to a colophon, the manuscript was completed in March of 1474 A. D.²⁰.

Our search has been crowned with the discovery of still another writing of Abū Ghalīb. This one comes to us in the form of a letter. The codex which has preserved this unique record also comes from the treasure chamber of the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā or Deir Za'farān which has preserved so many invaluable and unique manuscripts which have not survived elsewhere. The codex which has preserved this unique record is Ms. Mardin Orth. 422, a record which comprises a corpus of documents, ascetic and mystical in character²¹. It was here that this writing found its hiding place. It bears the title: «A letter of Athanasios, bishop of Ġaiḥan on solitariness»²². The letter is devoted to the same subject of spirituality and mysticism fostering the ideal form of solitude in the monastic life. The manuscript has preserved a colophon²³ according to which it was copied in the year 1473 A. D.²⁴, but the text in which we are interested is found in a restored part of the codex and must have been written by a somewhat later hand.

The measure of surprise is not yet full. Our search has revealed still another work which belongs to a different genre, namely, the genre of *mēmṛā*. The location of this unique document is the collection of manuscripts located in another famous monastery, Mār Mattai on the mountain near Mosul. The place of hiding — the huge corpus of ascetic and mystical works in Ms. Mār Mattai 27. This codex introduces our source under the title: «Another *mēmṛā* in the metre of Mār Ja'qōb which was composed by Mār Athanasios who is Abū Ghalīb»²⁵. This *mēmṛā* is consecrated to the subject of inner purity and spirituality in the

¹⁸ *Ḥawāṣṣ al-ḥayāt*.

¹⁹ Quire 34, fol. 6aff.

²⁰ The codex was completed in the month of Adar in the year 1785 A. Gr. It was written by Rabban Šalībā, monk and presbyter and Rabban Gabriel, monk and deacon and Abraham of the village of Bēt Sabīrīnā in the Monastery of Qarṭamīn at the demand of Rabban Jausep, presbyter and monk — a recluse of Arbu Qastra.

²¹ See VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts*.

²² Fol. 173aff.

²³ See *ibid.*, page 322.

²⁴ The manuscript was copied in the Monastery of Šalībā, called the Monastery of Bana'el.

²⁵ Fol. 208a-208b.

mystical tradition. The *mēmra* was sent to monks. This beautifully executed codex has no colophon but on palaeographical grounds it can be assigned to the fifteenth century.

b. *The Author*

It is very gratifying that, with the emergence of these writings, a certain amount of information about the person and life of Abū Ghalīb also has gradually emerged. According to historical notes in connection with his writings, Abū Ghalīb has earned a reputation in the ascetic life and in his treatment of the subject of asceticism and spirituality. He is reported to have lived in the Monastery of Patura which later became known as the Monastery of Abū Ghalīb. According to comments of his own included in his works, he had composed altogether twenty-five works on the subject of monasticism and asceticism — this is stated in the codex in Mosul. According to the historical notes added to these writings in the year 1168/9 A.D., Patriarch Michael consecrated this prolific ascetic author to the episcopal see of Ġaihan under the name of Athanasios. He is reported to have held the episcopal office until his death in the year 1177 A.D. Still more can be learned from these historical notes. It is stated at the end of the main work, which most probably also was the most extensive, that he had composed it in the year 1176/7 A.D.²⁶ If so, this work was the last gift he was permitted to give in the furtherance of monasticism.

²⁶ In the year 1488 A. Gr.

XX. MONASTICISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE LEGISLATIVE SOURCES

1. THE CANONS OF THE MONASTERY OF MĀR ḤANĀNYĀ

a. *The Sources*

A very unique record, in itself a jewel of great price has been awaiting its turn. It consists of a cycle of monastic canons which unfolds the life in the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā. This cycle of canons, indeed, makes an extraordinary contribution to the genre of monastic legislation. Not only were these canons promulgated for a monastery which was one of the most important in the entire maphrianate but also for one which has played a very important role in the whole of West Syrian Christianity. It enriches our store of knowledge greatly inasmuch as it unfolds the life which Jōhannān created in the monasteries restored by him in the diocese of Mardē. In this respect, the document is singular.

Extraordinarily fortunate circumstances have made it possible for this very precious record to survive. Only a single manuscript has preserved this set of canons and that document is Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/11¹. Whatever else is now available carries no independent value since that represents no more than copies made from our document by recent hands². The text³ of this cycle of canons exceeds everything we have seen in legislative materials previously examined. It surpasses every record in this genre.

It is obvious that this collection of canons has generously drawn much from many other legislative records, from sources scrutinized by Jōhannān in preparing his cycle of canons. It seems clear that there must also have been sources among those so investigated which have since disappeared, having perished due to the vicissitudes of time.

This extensive cycle of canons furthermore has been provided with a commensurate proem. Besides critically important historical data about

¹ Fol. 221b-227a.; the manuscript comes from the year 1024 A. D. However this section has been added later to the codex.

² Ms. Mardin Orth. 323, fol. 70a-75a; the manuscript is a modern copy.

³ *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition II*, ed. VÖÖBUS, p. 217ff.

Their election shall be (such) that they shall be with the abbot (just) mentioned. And they shall be his hand and feet and eyes and his tongue. Without them he shall do nothing either little or great. From this it is evident — although he is the rightful head — that he shall do nothing at all without the counsel of the faithful stewards from the tested monks as has been mentioned. Therefore they shall be servants before him and are to do everything that he orders them except that which they cannot rightly do.

They are to write the entire account of the income and expense for him, thoroughly and carefully, so that there shall be about him no place for a murmuring word from clutching brothers who wish to look for scandal.

They shall write down the income in this way: every month so and so, so much through my hand, so and so, we have entered *zūzē* or given out. And another book (must be used) for the expense in the month, so and so, in like manner: for so and so something, also through my hand so and so. They shall write on all the affairs of the community and of the church and they shall be handed over (to the abbot).

And no one shall resist the commandment of the abbot. The one who resists when he orders him, should he truly have no cause of necessity⁵ or sickness or something else, he shall be separated from the table of the brothers. But they shall have a share and fellowship with those who are praying. Like the soldier who is mentioned by the ancients, when he heard that war was to begin between two sides, he orders himself to be brought in on a bier⁶; when he is to be questioned by the brothers, he is to answer that which is worthy to be written down: if there is victory I have a share in it with you, but if there is defeat — is my ownself better than yours? You, disciple, are a soldier for that one who sees secrets — (there) be not slothful and slow. How can you leave your brothers (thus) losing your life? (In this way) your sins will be doubled. But you have to act manfully and confront the sloth and depression — and it will flee speedily from you.

He who is not prepared to come to prayer is not allowed by God to eat (anything) except dry bread for two days.

The third canon. When you pray the prayer of compline, you shall do it together with one another with many genuflections⁷, i.e. kneelings.

⁵ ἀνάγκη.

⁶ This is how the text reads; it seems that something is not in order with the text.

⁷ μετάνοια.

You (must) ask forgiveness from one another, as those who do not know when the departure on a bed in the sleep of the night may happen; be prepared — if there may have happened any transgression to any one of you, whether knowingly or unknowingly — so that (at the time of) sunset, wrath shall also pass away or go down through the rise of love.

Further in this place a proposed form of confession shall be set for you. Everyone shall say to his companions: «Forgive me all in that I have sinned against you either willingly or unwillingly, secretly or openly, the grudge, hatred, evil, covetousness, falsehood, backbiting, every sin». At the end, The presbyters, i.e. the priests, shall say: «Amen». Or he who is charged with the conclusion⁸ shall sign them.

However, the sacristan⁹ should not tarry unduly, he shall strike a *maqōšā* for compline.

The fourth canon. From the *Tešrī ḥrayā*¹⁰ the lessons shall be portions of (sacred) books. (There shall be) two selected lections, prophetic and apostolic, administered by groups; that is to say from the consecration of the church until the great Sunday of the Resurrection, reading continually lessons of the Old and New (Testaments) by groups, and on all dominical feasts and the commemoration of the martyrs, etc.

(There is also to be read) the *mēmre* and *tūrgāmē* of the doctors during the evenings preceding the Sundays.

And on the dominical feasts and on the commemoration of the martyrs there shall be (lessons) once or twice every night.

And eight psalms, *marmyān*¹¹, every night until the great feasts of the Resurrection according to the order¹² of the tradition in the church of the Syrians in 'Ūrhāi and the west.

Also the stories of the fathers and readings suitable for the life of monasticism, and those which are known and in every way profitable also for the edification of the community of this divine monastery.


The fifth canon. A fixed daily fasting shall be (established) for this monastery from *Tešrī qadīm*¹³ to the great feast of the Resurrection. And this shall be until the ninth hour.

During the great fast of the forty (days) until the evening.

⁸ Or: «with the final prayer».

⁹ Derived from κόνη.

¹⁰ The month of November.

¹¹  subdivisions of the Psalter.

¹² τάξις.

¹³ The month of October.

From the great feast of the Resurrection and later (too) — when there is (the time for) work until the third hour or until midday — and (then) fasting.

Those who abide continually in the monastery shall fast until the ninth hour.

For a monk, fastings and prayers are provisions for the road of asceticism¹⁴; these are his constant occupation. When he fasts perfectly and increasingly, (so) he shall also become diligent that he shall fast in his inner self so that his discipleship shall not go to waste.

The sixth canon. The sacristan¹⁵ shall instruct the presbyters so that they will set up the (liturgical) *sedrā*¹⁶ and offer the sacrifices or pray or read the *mēmre* and *tūrgāme*, etc. And he shall make them known the offering from the morning of the day.

The seventh canon. The fixed and determined fasts of the *tūrāšā*¹⁷ after the great fast of the forty days: the fast of the apostles after the Sunday of Pentecost¹⁸ — for fifty days; the fast of the Assumption of the Godbearer in the beginning of *ʿĀb*¹⁹, fifteen days; the fast of the Cross, eight days; the fast of the adorable Nativity, forty days; the fast of Ninive, five days.

(All) these are (obligatory) for the monks, the presbyters, the deacons and the believers.

Monks shall not make for themselves food and drink on Sunday nor on the feasts, concluding the fast of the apostles as is the negligent custom of a few who break the (rule on) *tūrāšā* on Saturday and Sunday, the holy fast of the apostles which is after the Pentecost.

The eighth canon. Those who are in Christ are new creatures²⁰; thus, they shall not be like (those) who are separate from each other, as we have said, like the worldly people (who have) companions (who are) strangers and neighbors (who are) aliens, but that all of you shall equally be in the manner of the inner part of the body, so that each member has his special service²¹.

¹⁴ *ῥῥῥῥῥ*.

¹⁵ *κόνχη*.

¹⁶ *ῥῥῥῥ* «order», «liturgical chants», «prayers».

¹⁷ *ῥῥῥῥ* food which was forbidden during a fast.

¹⁸ *πεντεκοστή*.

¹⁹ The month of August.

²⁰ II Cor. V, 17.

²¹ Cf. Rom. XII, 4ff.

One, indeed, is the head in which the mind dwells as a king and through which it directs everything in the entire body; also there is the eye which sees for the entire body, and there is the hand doing service for all (of the body); another (member) is the ear, another the foot, carrying the whole (body). The Apostle speaks at length (about) all of these, these (parts) which are necessary for us in order that certain people will not prepare themselves for a quarrel against the one who stands at the head, whether the abbot or the chief²² or the brothers or the stewards²³, and that men shall not so align themselves to one another and say: we will not do this or that (and) in order that they will not become guilty with one another.

We say: not (at all) but that love shall be poured out upon every man. If one loves the person who obeys him but constrains the community, that is not love but the pain (of passion) from which in due season confusion in the community will be begotten. He, however, who is in subjection to the community — (for him) no quarrel has the power to become (a matter) of opposition to the canon of the community. If anybody is not so (subject), he becomes a destroyer of peace and of the rule²⁴ of the community. (Neither) shall such a one (be allowed to desist or depart away) wherever (he wants); he expels himself from the body of Christ through the arrogance of wanting to set up a faction. Christ, however, gives the beatitude to the humble ones²⁵.

All together we decree that no one shall be responsible for everyone but for himself yet he may intercede²⁶ (for others) humbly in gentleness.

The ninth canon. If one shall make for himself garden plots²⁷ for sowing or some other pursuit, his necessities are to be supplied by the community, i.e., moderate clothing, sandals or food. But when a person has a vineyard or something else and does not wish to enjoy with pleasure the sweetness of freedom, free from care, this one shall give it over to the laborers and from that which remains of it, he shall manage with the fear of God, selling that which comes from the wine press as (he did) before.

²² *ῥῥῥ ῥῥ*.

²³ *ῥῥῥῥ*.

²⁴ *κανών*.

²⁵ Cf. Matth. V, 5.

²⁶ *πείσαι*.

²⁷ The vocable *ῥῥῥῥ* is Arabic شكارا.

(This is) the case so long as he has this evil sickness. The true disciples of Christ, who trust in no other hope are especially those (who are) in the community (of monks).

The tenth canon. The abbot or steward or chief of the brothers shall assign to the brothers in the fear of God the labor²⁸ of the community.

The monks shall be prepared to obey without dispute. He who objects and does not obey shall be expelled without further ado.

The eleventh canon. He who takes something from the community furtively or from another place, it shall be forgiven him once; for the rest he shall pay fourfold. If he again dares to do this, he shall be expelled without further ado.

Canon 12. It is necessary for the monks of this monastery to do manual work without the monastery so that they do not become inclined to a depression of the mind. Idleness begets harm for the monks.

All the monks shall continue in the reading of ecclesiastical books.

He who possesses knowledge shall teach the rest of the brothers.

He who does not possess knowledge and the paternal Syriac language, he shall learn not to esteem it basely nor shall he be lazy as (are the) stagnant ones, the stupid, who love not knowledge but (only) the adoration of empty and idle words of no profit and who in idleness become like a tree which has no fruit²⁹.

And the rest of the clergymen³⁰, dwellers of the monastery, shall learn the sweet songs, the manner of speech such as antiphons (doctrinal hymns), litanies, the Greek canons and the rest of our western melodies just (as do) the people of ʾŪrhāi with their sweet melodies.

Canon 13. A monk who raises his voice and cries out about something, that one does not stand in the order³¹ of the discipline; this is not (even) the custom according to the worldly norm. He who raises and lifts up his voice and chatters (tales within the monastery) or outside or breaks out in loud laughter or laughs about a defect that his brother has, he shall lead the life of abstinence — in the evening fasting on dry bread for one week, doing repentance and asking forgiveness from the (most) revered, aged one of confession in the monastery.

²⁸ The vocable *شواغل* is an Arabic word. شواغل; cf. BAR BAHLUL, *Lexicon syriacum*, col. 1940.

²⁹ Cf. Luke XIII, 6ff.; Matth. VII, 19.

³⁰ κληρικός.

³¹ τάξις.

Canon 14. The order (of the behavior), of the monks is: a peaceful walk, a chaste look that is bent down continually together with his head; peaceful and quiet talk, an affectionate (way of) questioning and a peaceful and affectionate answer and love towards men for all the brothers.

Canon 15. Monks shall not sit on the porches³² and narrate over much as (do) the seculars who do not fear God.

The monks, moreover, shall work either in the monastery with their hands occupying themselves with God in their mind or they shall read the sacred scriptures; or they shall sit with somebody who reads the scriptures; or they shall recite a psalm by heart; or they shall sit inside the walls of their cells³³ waiting for their Lord who may call at an hour which they do not know, according to that which is said in the adorable gospel³⁴.

If one of the brothers of the monastery shall be stricken by illness and he has no brother, (and) a helper to serve him until he becomes well (is required), the abbot and the managers shall appoint one person from the monks unto him. This (is to be one) in order that one shall serve him as long as he is sick; (also) so that — if he has nothing — the needs³⁵ of him are fulfilled by the community.

If, however, there appear in him signs of departure, he shall call his father of repentance and confession and he shall confess to him everything in which he has transgressed and which he has done whether in deed, by thought or word. Then (the father confessor) shall ask him just as our Lord (did) with those who were sick or needed healing: «Do you believe that I can forgive you these which you have confessed to me?» He shall say: «I truly believe that you have been given the authority to forgive the sins of those who in faith desire forgiveness». Then shall he answer and say: «In the true faith and love of Christ, he who promised and gave the authority and said: «When you forgive the faults and sins of one they are forgiven to him³⁶, do thou our Lord forgive him everything in which he has sinned and make him worthy for the lot and portion of thy saints through thy mercy. Amen».

When if possible all the presbyters and brothers of the place are

³² Or: «thresholds».

³³ κέλλια.

³⁴ εὐαγγέλιον.

³⁵ ἀνάγκη.

³⁶ Cf. Matth. VI, 14.

assembled, he shall give an order regarding the one who is departing to distribute (his possessions) should he possess anything which yet remains to him. It is fair and true and just and right that this true disciple of Christ shall not possess anything, as one who is prepared to depart, except those (things) for his necessity about which I am speaking, (namely) the (monk's) habit³⁷ and the book. These (things) shall be for the community.

And all the members of the monastery shall make for him who died three vigils especially and particularly.

Instead of one *būsālā*³⁸ there shall be prepared two for every vigil.

Canon 16. It is right, however, that once in every completed year the presbyters of this monastery shall commemorate especially and particularly that one who died, at the last (prayer) of (inclining)³⁹, during the offering in the house of the departed, saying: «Remember thy servant so and so who departed from us and all those who have passed away from this community».

Canon 17. As a warning to you, o members of the community, I command that you, with great care (and) without fail every day keep remembrance at the altars for Hanānyā, the first bishop of this monastery, in the (same) manner as the holy apostles and fathers, when you call to remembrance the apostles and bishops; and (also) for those who have labored in this monastery; and for everyone who has taken pains and toiled either by a gift or by construction or by vows or by the tenth or by having taken pains and become wearied from labor — from this time forward.

It shall be an everlasting law⁴⁰ without interruption forever in this monastery. He who thinks to alter (it) by a stratagem⁴¹ or by diabolical machinations, or to abrogate and to mar the ordinance of the canons, those suitable and fixed which we have ordered⁴² for this monastery which we shall call in memory or which we will mention below, (also) other canons which we shall arrange for the synod at which we will gather — if the Lord wishes, that he will give us his hand in assistance — he who alters these canons and abrogates them, shall have no part whether in the (eucharistic) oblations or in the pure prayers.

³⁷ σχῆμα.

³⁸ ~~καλὰ~~ boiled or cooked food.

³⁹ A prayer said by a priest with bent head and low voice, i.e. oratio secreta.

⁴⁰ νόμος.

⁴¹ πόρος.

⁴² τάσσειν.

Or if anybody causes any of the monks in any way to annul this order which we have established by all these (rulings), completely necessary according to the law and canon of the convents and monasteries of our *benai qeyāmā* in the western settlements in the church of our blessed Jacobites in all our monasteries — he who thinks to alter it shall be counted with the destroyers of the law of God and he shall be numbered with the crucifiers of Christ and not be pardoned in this world nor in that to come but remain under the excommunications and curses until forever.

Canon 18. To all of you, presbyters and brothers, I say: You shall be helpers (in fulfilling) the precept of the abbot. He who resists shall be thrown out.

It is right for the abbot to do everything that he does in righteousness and uprightness. It is not right for him to do anything by prejudice whether to cast out or to expel any monk from the monastery without (the agreement) of the stewards⁴³.

He shall not have wrath or hatred towards anyone nor shall he do anything outside of righteousness nor, especially, to take advantage of anyone.

He who is weak through old age or sickness shall be borne by you when, for necessary⁴⁴ cause, it calls for action on the part of the community.

Canon 19. A warning from us, the weak ones, regarding the despondency of the *šabtāyē*⁴⁵, those who complain about (their) labor and the burden of the office of the *šabtāyā* and the community and (also) the murmuring of the negligent brothers — all such! Would that you had an eye on the vision of things in secret and could appreciate the spiritual and divine service which you had ministered; also, would that you had known who (it is that) you were serving and who is first in this service. However, it is not necessary to prolong this for we are not writing a homily to you. We are establishing a word of compulsory regulations. Nothing in these shall be passed over at all.

We, however, are succinctly calling to your mind the profit which comes from this service. Look you, to whom this service of life is so difficult. Let your mind take flight and see our father Abraham, the

⁴³ ~~καὶ~~

⁴⁴ ἀνάγκη.

⁴⁵ ~~καὶ~~ hebdomadaries.

father of the nations, the old one, laden (in years) of an age profound, concerning whom, praying, we say in our supplication and at the conclusion⁴⁶ of our prayers: «O Lord God, make us and the departed ones worthy of the light in the bosom of Abraham» — regarding whom God is called his God although He is God of the entire creation. He is the earthly counselor and an angel in the flesh.

What was this chief of the divine fathers doing, or the divine prophet Moses, that you should in such a way celebrate him? Moses answered and said: «Abraham was sitting in the tent and gazing with his eyes, looking for a traveller as was his habit sitting at the crossroads in order not to miss an opportunity for profit. And as the sun grew hot, he saw three men in front of him. And he hurried to Sarah and she prepared the table»⁴⁷. And the Trinity entered his house and blessed him. In the same way the hebdomadaries of whom we have spoken, are set up to (serve) at tables hoping to serve the sanctuary in honor because our Lifegiver said in his gospel: «I was hungry and you fed me»⁴⁸.

Canon 21. Brothers and all who sit at the table in the community — it is not right for you to choose the places but everyone shall know his order. If he wishes to be brought down, that is up to him.

Canon 22. No one shall sit at a separate (place) away from the table of the community. If he sits outside, they shall give him no food except for him who has come from the road or who is ill or if abstinent⁴⁹ does not eat *būsālā*.

In like manner is no one allowed to take some food to another cell⁵⁰; also not to the wayfarers, for he who is a wayfarer must come and eat in the community.

He who transgresses these (regulations) shall be condemned. If he shall do this evil one time or two, it shall be forgiven to him. If more, the canon shall be imposed according to the will of the abbot, and he shall respond in appropriate fashion or he shall be thrown out without further ado.

Canon 23. The regulations of the prayers.

There are seven (prayers) for you according to (the practice of) the convents and monasteries, i.e., in the evening — which is of the lamp,

⁴⁶ Or: «final benediction».

⁴⁷ Gen. XVIII, 1ff.

⁴⁸ Matth. XXV, 35.

⁴⁹ Or: «ascetic».

⁵⁰ κελλίον.

that is compline, and in the middle of the night, and the rest of the nightly and daily times of prayers.

He who grows weary and is not prepared (to be present) from the beginning of the prayers but is (residing) in the monastery and is not sick in his illness so as to be unable to stand up, yet cannot sit (with the brothers), he shall serve his prayer in his cell.

Because he is weak in sickness he may drink three cups of wine in a day. If he again gets well — a monk may drink up to three cups.

Canon 24. One dinar must be taken from a monk who strikes his companion — if he has anything.

If he has nothing, he shall fast for three months without the *tūrāšā* and shall eat dry bread.

Canon 25. A monk who fights with a companion (perhaps) calling him by (some) name⁵¹, is disdainful of him and causes him to reply to him and they go from this into fighting — it shall be forgiven him one time or two.

If they hurt (one another), it shall be changed into a fast of one month, ascetically without any *tūrāšā*. Particularly if he raises his hand to beat his companion.

Canon 26. A monk is not allowed to go alone into the town or village and to spend the night there.

If there is an urgent cause, then two shall go together yet this (only) if there is a manner of urgency in the work of the monastery.

If one goes to a place without the order of the abbot — the doorkeeper shall not let him enter the monastery until he accepts unto himself the fast for (the period of) one month.

Canon 27. Whoever has urgent cause shall tell the abbot and if the abbot permits him (to do so) he may do it. The abbot, however, shall not command anything which goes beyond that which has been determined by the canon.

If he breaks and transgresses the canons in a decisive manner, for each canon which he breaks the abbot shall fast one fast until he is amended (in his ways) by having observed them.

Canon 28. Any monk when the *naqōšā* is struck who does not come hastening to the prayer in the church shall be admonished one time, two and three (times). And if he has not amended (his ways), he shall be

⁵¹ Lit.: «nickname».

separated from the table until he confesses and repents — that he will not do this (again).

Canon 29. It is right that the deacons of the monastery shall have a chief⁵². He shall instruct those who are under him. He whom he instructs to serve and who does not obey and who has no necessary causes shall cease from his service; he shall eat dry bread until he has amended (his attitude). If he will not be amended, he shall cease completely from the service.

Canon 30. A monk shall not mar the order of the church⁵³.

He who does not know the psalms and ceases from the recitation shall not eat the *tūrāšā* so long as he is idle.

The thirtieth (canon). A monk who eats before the offering⁵⁴ and before he receives a blessing⁵⁵, except there be a cause of sickness or necessity⁵⁶, shall fast one week ascetically without the *tūrāšā*.

The thirty-first (canon). A monk who brings out the secrets of the monastery or any talk of the transgression⁵⁷ of the brothers or about the fightings and quarrels of the brothers or who appeals to the seculars about these canons which we have ordered⁵⁸ for this monastery or who goes to an authority in a lawsuit in which he is involved or (engages) in a fight with another monk or who abandons the judgement of the church and also these canons, etc., even though he has someone who can give judgements (in his case) — such a man shall be excommunicated and cut off from the messianic body of Christ, entirely from Christianity and also from the mysteries of the church completely. And he shall in no way be accepted in this monastery if it can truly be witnessed against him that he has committed one of these evils or calumny, an accusation before the rulers and officials and judges and leaders of the country, etc. And the more so, if he goes and seeks support from the foreigners against the monastery and these monks whatever the case might be. Such a one we do not accept as a Christian and believer in Christ, and we (hold) as an unfrocked one and as an accursed one and as a stranger and a despised

⁵² *κλει*.

⁵³ Structurally this clause belongs to the preceding canon.

⁵⁴ *κλεις* celebration of the eucharist.

⁵⁵ *κλεις* a «blessing», «benediction», «eulogia».

⁵⁶ *ἀνάγκη*.

⁵⁷ The text reads erroneously *κλεις* but the correct word should be *κλεις*.

⁵⁸ *τάσσειν*.

one any person who commits the evils we mentioned, whoever commits this offence and becomes a stumbling block to all members of this sacerdotal monastery, whichever man goes and creates strife and offense against the monks and laymen.

We have written to you on these matters in order that they may become guardians against evil things and harms and injuries. You, the members of the monastery, are living in this divine monastery of the chosen and God-clothed Mār Ḥanānyā, like a second Christ, and with him twelve thousand saints whose Shechinah⁵⁹ and power are in this monastery, who are to you like fortified fortresses and the strong walls of a city, and like fences of a vineyard and like a remedy and medicine to sick people and like some bitter roots which drive away all injury, like medicine which cures the pain of the soul and body of any person who seeks healing. They increase love, chase away troubles; they remove the stumbling block from the road of truth, they cause satisfaction to him who desires good things and they increase the good fruits of our obedience.

I, Jōhannān, old and feeble, by name a bishop, have ordered and set up and confirmed the content⁶⁰ of the above canons. Whoever resists them and does not obey them shall not be pardoned by God, neither in this world nor in the one to come.

2. THE CANONS FOR THE MONASTERIES OF MĀR 'ABAI AND OF MĀR ḤANĀNYĀ

From the canons set up by Jōhannān of Mardē, another set of canons has come down to us. This is much shorter and quite different in its character. Historically, this document is important since it unfolds a new aspect in the restoration work of the monasteries carried out by Jōhannān of Mardē¹. These canons have the purpose of strengthening the existence of the restored monasteries in a way very different from those which have been already discussed. For this purpose, Jōhannān used the method of cooperation.

This document has been preserved in a unique manuscript, Ms.

⁵⁹ *κλεις* «tabernacle», «shrine» and the Shechinah in Neo-Hebrew.

⁶⁰ Lit.: «body».

¹ See page 392ff.

XXI. THE IMPACT OF MONASTICISM UPON THE MUSLIM ARABS

1. THE RADIATION OF A SPIRIT OF HUMANENESS AND OF ELEEMOSYNARY CONCERN

Of deeper thoughts and feelings of compassion and charity, Islam contained only a few features, features whose origins go back to the Medina period of the prophet. The Quran too contains no more than a few references. All in all, a less than adequate resource for the Arabs to use in conquered areas. The sons of the desert, with phenomenal successes of conquest behind them, were not disposed to pursue life inspired by nobler thoughts nor to cultivate trends generated by deeper motivations. The cultural niveau of the occupiers of the newly conquered territories was low, corresponding in no way to the level of achievement reached on the military side. Indeed, early Islamic poets paint a realistic picture of the actual state of affairs; on their view of it, a morally higher plane could only be attained if two basic evils were to be overcome — one, the licentious behavior of the occupiers in the new regions and two, the enmity which had poisoned relations between the tribes themselves, an enmity which threatened their very existence. In the face of such circumstances, the development of deeper thought and of a spirit of human warmth would have to await better times.

Surprisingly, however, the emergence of works of charity and of institutions devoted to eleemosynary care — such as xenodochia, hospitals and similar institutions — occurred much sooner than one would have expected. According to the tradition, the first individual to see to the erection of a xenodochion and hospital was the Caliph al-Walid at the beginning of the eighth century. Among his successors, too, there were others who were to win fame and reputation for activities of a similar kind, among whom al-Mahdi in particular is to be mentioned. He founded a number of places for the dispensation of charity. In addition to the xenodochia and hospitals, other charitable arrangements were gradually implemented — kitchens for the poor, asylums for orphans and establishments for the infirm.

The sources leave us with the impression that the period between the

initial stage as it is unfolded in the Quran and all of the establishments which reveal a deeper humane spirit and a charitable attitude in the spiritual-cultural life of Syria and Mesopotamia — a period allowing for development to a higher level — was too short. Even when one takes all factors in the prevailing situation into account, it would appear that some other factor had to be involved. Since the Arabs, in other areas involving culturo-spiritual values, learned from the values of the subjugated population in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia, the question arises whether their mental attitude and more profound sentiment was influenced and enriched in a similar way.

We need, first of all, to reckon with the spontaneous radiation of spiritual forces which confronted the sons of the desert, rough and primitive as they were, with an atmosphere in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia, insofar as charitable work and human compassion are concerned, quite different from any they had known. The spirit of Mitleid and of human warmth which was to move them was animated by the ascetics and anchorites¹; it was displayed on a broad scale by monastic communities which found themselves in an excellent position to give such a disposition credence, thus to allow their eleemosynary activities to become popular². The deeds carried out by the monks on behalf of men and women spoke far more loudly than speech. Certain monasteries made the dissemination of this spirit a sacred duty and thereby even won a certain renown. Many an ordinary Arab utilized the opportunity to appear at the gates of monasteries seeking food, drink or relief from one need or another. Indeed, so many did so that there can scarcely have been any Arabs who did not know about these places of compassion.

Even the simplest deeds manifesting the warmth of the human heart were able to arouse deeper feelings at least in some of the sons of the desert, awakening hidden forces of humanity in them. Deeds of charitable kindness, in particular the cultivation of hospitality which countless Arabs came to enjoy, not only excited curiosity but also more serious reflection among many Arabs, the kind of reflection which led them away from a haughty self-consciousness toward a respect for the simple men in plain garment and their deeds, endowed with heart-

¹ VÖÖBUS, *Einiges über die karitative Tätigkeit des syrischen Mönchtums*, p. 1 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 18 ff.; *Id.*, *History of Asceticism II*, p. 361 ff.

warming gifts. Many Arabs on the delicate question of human values learned from the living examples before their eyes. Indeed, although Arabs were rather testy on these matters, and did not really want to admit that they had borrowed from others, they did occasionally have to admit that incentives had come from the cultural context around them. We are told how caliphs had their attention directed to the duty of charity by Christians, to the imperative of feeding the poor and destitute sitting on the bridges of Baghdad³.

Another channel should also be taken into account. This involved occurrences which took place during and after the Islamic invasion. Considerable segments of the Syrian communities embraced Islam if the complaints of their spiritual shepherds may be taken at face value.

Since it is difficult to assume that whatever contingents went over to Islam did so without contributing anything to Islam, it is safe to reckon with the fact that a certain new ferment was engendered by them in the Islamic communities in the regions where they lived.

Other avenues also come into account with regard to the evolution of a charitable spirit among the Arabs. The role of Arabs Christians must surely have been of some significance. We are told that the tribe of Taghlib in comparison with other Arab tribes excelled them all in its devotion to works of charity⁴. Some tribes became more open in this respect. It is to be noted that masses of these Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia embraced Islam soon after the conquest, whether by voluntary acquiescence on the basis of various sentiments or involuntarily under threat of repression.

However that may have been, the resultant impact was strong enough to foster a trend toward thoughts and feelings of a more profound sort in Islam. Sagig Balchi along with others could testify that nothing suited him more than the presence of a guest, a statement which underlines the importance given to service to travellers⁵. Among such duties as those of helping the poor, the suffering, the destitute and the slaves, this service to travellers was regarded as a service of especial significance. It was men such as these, dressed in the Šūfī monastic garments who were able to attain a higher lever of concern for needy fellow human beings, a disposition inspired by a warmth of heart.

³ AL-ĞAĤŠIYĀRĪ, *Kita'b al-wu'za'ra'*.

⁴ AL-AKHTAL, *Dīwān*, ed. SALHANI.

⁵ He died in 194 H.

Yet still more can be elicited. The above-mentioned trend even developed into a monastic movement in Islam when the Šūfī communities came into existence. In this connection, it should be added that the older type of Šūfism was more practically than speculatively oriented and possessed a better understanding of practical virtues. It was natural, when they did begin to organize their activities, for them to have kept an eye upon the various practices in the Syrian monasteries. This can scarcely be considered surprising; it would on the face of it have been the most natural thing to have done.

To just what an extent the monastic communities of the Šūfīs followed the pattern of the Syrian monastic communities is demonstrated in a source, a work produced by Ibn Baṭṭūṭāh⁶, whose testimony leaves nothing to be desired. We have to prepare ourselves for the testimony of a very precious document.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭāh tells us that Šūfī monasteries were built in order to assist travellers. He found them at every station. They were staffed by Šūfī monks who had devoted themselves entirely to this service. His report introduces a large number of such monasteries in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. They had become centers where Šūfī monks served travellers and fed them. His report thus allows us an insight into the number of these institutions and the traditions developed in them. We are privileged to observe travellers arriving and how they were received — the chef came forward to give every one two round breads, some meat and sugar. This was the custom. Care was also taken of their animals. Of the monastery in Kazarum, located at the tomb of Abū Iṣḥāq, Ibn Baṭṭūṭāh writes that the Šūfī monks did not let travellers depart before they had been fed for three days — a familiar tradition in the monasteries of the Syrians⁷. Thus alongside ascetic and cultic practices, the work and activity was focussed upon the service offered to travellers.

Of the monastery in Toster, we are told that there were four offices in that community: one which had jurisdiction over the gifts, another over the handling of daily expenses, a third the duty of serving the meals and the last responsible for the preparation of the food in the kitchen⁸.

In addition to serving travellers, these monasteries also received the

⁶ Note from the Editor: Under the circumstances, the detailed evidence from Ibn Baṭṭūṭā's *Rihla* could not be supplied.

⁷ VÖÖBUS, *Einiges über die karitative Tätigkeit*, p. 18ff.; cf. ID., *History of Asceticism II*, p. 361ff.

⁸ This service compelled them to collect gifts every day from the people.

poor. We are told that each of the monasteries in Persia, over and above other offices, had an office assigned to the care of the poor.

Travellers, the poor and also others received food free; that service was held to be a sacred duty by the Šūfī. Accordingly, these Šūfī communities had to find the funds and supplies to provide that service. The ways in which they did so were various. In some of the monasteries, the Šūfī monks themselves had to find the resources to fulfil these obligations; in others, income as a consequence of religious vows was used as the source of income; in still other communities, pious sheikhs were persuaded to underwrite such expenses. Ibn Baṭṭūṭāh tells us about one monastery in which Šūfī monks were enabled to carry out their work of charity without financial worries because a pious sultan, impressed by their eleemosynary activity and by their ascetic way of life, decided to pay off any debts incurred.

Unfolded before our eyes is an interesting phenomenon in spiritual-cultural history: that of a portion of the conquering forces being inwardly conquered in turn. Syrian monasticism at its best was powerful enough to transmit its compassionate spirit to them. And when the catastrophes of history shrank the numbers of the bearers of this noble spirit to the point where they disappear from the pages of history, the best of their spiritual legacy was able to live on even though the deeds of compassion were then done not in the name of Christ but of Allah.

2. IN THE REALM OF INTELLECTUAL CULTURE VIA THE GRAECO-SYRO TRANSLATION LITERATURE

a. *Bilingual Monasteries*

Over and above ascetic-religious and social concerns, Syrian monasteries performed still another function — a cultural one. It was very important. When we keep in mind the fact that almost all of the Syrian authors were monks or had training in the monasteries, the importance of the function cannot be exaggerated.

The subject under discussion makes it necessary to single out just one aspect in particular in this rich cultural tapestry — the strand having to do with the work of translating Greek literature. This sector is of such a magnitude that it needs to be placed into a much wider culturo-historical perspective. We need, therefore, to make some preliminary observations

on the manner by which the Syrians equipped themselves to make that contribution.

Relations with Greek culture reach back into the earliest times in the history of Syrian monasteries. This reality is bound up with a remarkable phenomenon of Syrian monasticism, namely, the functioning of monasteries at an international level. That seems to have given the earliest stimuli to a direction of future importance. Therefore, it is not at all superfluous to say a few words about the symbiosis of ethnically different monastic communities. It is a phenomenon as interesting as it is important in its consequences.

The monastery of Zeugma¹ founded by Publios² gained fame from its practice of psalmody, one which was carried out without interruption. The section of the community which was not able to perform the psalmody in Syriac joined the liturgical practice in their own Greek tongue. Publios built a church, one in which these ethnically different choirs were joined but in which otherwise both communities remained separate, each living under the rule of its abbot.

Theodoretos assures us that this liturgical practice was still being continued in his time, as was the administrative operation, each community under its own abbot³.

Among the bilingual monasteries in Syria and Mesopotamia, the monastery founded by Alexander Akoimetos⁴ overshadowed the other international monasteries in fame. Alexander was inspired by the idea of reforming monastic life in his own way, concentrating upon perpetual prayer, that is, perpetual doxology. The monastery which he founded on the right bank of the Euphrates⁵ became very successful⁶.

His monastery housed a community composed of different ethnic groups divided into choirs⁷. While there was only one abbot, the system of administration which was introduced placed every group under the jurisdiction of its respective authority⁸.

¹ THEODORETOS, *Historia religiosa*, col. 1354.

² Greek speaking ascetics. attracted by Publios, the master of psalmody, urged him to build a monastery for all. He agreed, left his solitary life, and erected separate buildings for communities.

³ THEODORETOS, *ibid.*

⁴ *Vie d'Alexandre l'Acémète*, éd. DE STOOP, p. 643ff.

⁵ PARGOIRE, «Un mot sur les Acémètes», p. 304ff., 365ff.

⁶ It is reported that the monastery grew steadily until the number of inmates reached four hundred.

⁷ VAILHÉ, «Acémètes», p. 274ff.

⁸ THEODORETOS, *Historia religiosa*, col. 1352.

This phenomenon cannot be passed over without an additional notice. The bilingual communities must have contributed more than their fair share to the creation of a different cultural atmosphere — on that, we can with a high degree of probability depend. The premises for generating a broader range of interest via these communities are patent. It can be assumed that Greek-speaking communities, and through them the traditions cherished in their circles awakened interest among the Syrians. There certainly were among them those who desired an enrichment for their meditation and spiritual life, even from traditions which originated in a tongue other than their own. Furthermore, it may be taken as reads that the impulses emanating from these international monasteries were crucial in the initiation, the inauguration of the great task of translating Greek sources into Syriac.

b. *The Role of the School of Edessa*

The work accomplished in the School of Edessa constituted still another important factor in the process.

Whereas traditions¹ regarding the origin of the School of Edessa are contradictory², and while any information about the school, its direction and activity over a considerable span of time lies hidden behind an impenetrable curtain of history, the first ray of light which can be perceived, focusses upon the epoch of Qiyōrē³, the first director we know by name. He is introduced as a man in whom ascetic qualifications, administrative abilities and scholarly interests are preeminently combined⁴. He lives on in the tradition as the individual who introduced an important reform. Next to the indigenous works of 'Aphrēm, which had become normative in the curriculum during the initial period of the school, Qiyore was the person who realized the need for introducing the works of Theodoros of Mopsvestia into the program. This step was of

¹ BARHADBEŠABBĀ, *La fondation des écoles*, éd. SCHER asserts that 'Aphrēm founded the school. About this point, however, we do not need to take Barhadbešabbā at his word because it is questionable whether his sources about the origin of the school are as reliable as those reporting the later stages in the history of this center of learning, SOZOMENOS, *Historia eccl.* III, 16 remains silent in this respect, So too 'Aphrēm's vita in Syriac, *Hymni et sermones*, ed. LAMY. According to this source 'Aphrēm's numerous disciples constituted the School of Edessa.

² VÖÖBUS, «'Aphrēm and the School of Edessa», p. 209ff.

³ He died in 446/7.

⁴ VÖÖBUS, *History of the School of Nisibis*, p. 10ff.

fundamental significance not only with regard to the subsequent destiny of the school but also for the history of Syrian Christianity.

This centre of learning in a complex of buildings near the pond of Abraham became a focus for new stimuli. The great accomplishment of translating the Greek fathers into Syriac is associated with such names as Hībā, Qūmī and Prōbā⁵. These rich impulses bore such fruit that time after time others stimulated by a similar interest emerged one after another to extend the task of translating the Greek classical works in philosophy and the natural sciences into Syriac.

c. *The Role of the Centers of Learning in the Monasteries*

Another constituent in the creation of Graeco-Syro translation literature is the contribution of the centers of learning in the monastic communities. The most important await introduction.

At the forefront of monastic schools and centers of learning stands the monastery of Qennešrē. Its significance is so great that a review of salient facts about this school is in order. The story of the founding of the monastery is related by Zacharias of Mitylene¹. The founder, Jōhannān bar 'Aphtōnāyā, was an abbot in the Mār Tūmā monastery in Seleucia at the Orontes when the persecution broke out and he, and his community, were expelled before the year 531 A.D. He founded a new monastery and became the first abbot of the monastery of Qennešrē². His leadership of the newly established institution was all too short, since death called him on November 4, 537, but not before he was able to designate Alexander as his successor in office. The latter can only have ruled a few years. Upon his death, the leadership passed into the hands of Jōhannān. In any case, he must have been in office before 544.

The monastery grew into a large community of almost four hundred monks³. It was destined to enter upon a path toward a great reputation when it engaged itself in the mission of learning and educational culture, especially Greek studies. Its founder had given it the important initial

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21f.

¹ *Historia eccl.*, ed. BROOKS II, p. 80.

² Its location was on the eastern bank of the Euphrates vis-à-vis Ġirbās, Europos. The surmise, that the location of the monastery is to be identified with Bāfittin in Ġebel Bārīšā, LITTMANN *ZfAssyr* I (1922), p. 178, has no foundation.

³ YĀQŪT, *Mu'ğam al-buldān* II, p. 688.

paragraph taken from the biography of Philoxenos, which has already been quoted, is in order. We are told that Philoxenos went from Qarṭāmīn to the western regions. «He reached the monastery of Tell 'Adā which was richer in professors, students and exegetes than all other monasteries of the east and of the west; there, he perfected himself in the Greek and Syriac languages»¹⁹.

Other monasteries containing centers of Greek studies such as the monastery of Mār Mattai also were in existence²⁰. In some of them, Greek was a permanent subject in the curriculum; in others it was only offered from time to time. It may be confidently assumed that they also made contributions to the treasury of material translated from Greek into Syriac.

d. *The Most Important Translators*

As time went on, more and more was accomplished in the translation of the legacy of the Greeks. Many of the authors who participated regrettably remain unknown to us.

In the forefront of the phalanx of eminent translators there stands Sargīs of Reš'aina (Theodosiopolis)¹, whose floruit falls at the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th centuries². He won fame because he tackled the task of translating the Greek medical literature. Hunain in his account registers the fact that he translated twenty-two works of Galen³. These were the earliest translation of the treatises of Galen into Syriac. He is the first major scientific figure to appear in the Syriac speaking world.

That other contributions were made by other authors, over and above this individual's work, is clear. 'Ahrōn who flourished in the time of Emperor Heraclios (610-41) is an outstanding example as the author of the famous *Pendecta*, an extensive medical compendium. Another eminent example is to be seen in Jōhannān bar Serapyōn⁴. He was the author of a medical *kunnas*, a compendium of medical knowledge.

¹⁹ Cf. Ms. Vatican Syr. 135, fol. 1bff., 60ff.

²⁰ VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I.

¹ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 167ff.

² He died in 536 in Constantinople.

³ *Risāla Hunain ibn Ishāq alā 'Alī ibn Yahyā* 4, 6, 7, 11, 12 etc, BERGSTRÄSSER, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, p. 189.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 231, 353.

Among the authors of a similar reputation who stood at the forefront of the phalanx of translators is 'Ayyūb of Edessa⁶. He won fame as a translator of Galen into the Syriac tongue. Hunain indicates that a very large number of works of Galen were translated by him. Indeed, this list is impressive. Hunain's account registers thirty-two such works⁷. The discovery of the commentary on epidemics⁸ by Hippocrates is a literary monument unique in several respects⁹.

There were other translators of the works of Galen. Hunain's account mentions seven such authors but they rank far behind Sargīs and 'Ayyūb. Each of them is credited with the translation of one, exceptionally of three, of his treatises.

There were translators too who not only put Greek medical works into Syriac, but who labored in other areas of Greek learning. Sargīs produced works on logic, seven volumes no less, and in addition, two volumes of commentaries on the categories in which he compared the philosophies of Aristotle, Plato and the Stoics¹⁰. The *Ketābā de-Semātā*, «Book of Pressures», produced by 'Ayyūb of Edessa¹¹, is an encyclopaedia covering the philosophical and natural sciences. With regard to philosophical works of Greek literature, comments have been made elsewhere.

Thus were the shelves of literary treasure gradually filled. The libraries of many monasteries came to be crammed with works of the Greek world put into Syriac. Having undergone a history in which various factors were operative, these works finally found their place in the east. Then there occurred the historical moment which transmitted Greek wisdom to a new world.

e. *Translation of the Graeco-Syro Classical Works into Arabic*

In view of the immense importance of the mighty surge which would propel the heritage of the Hellenic spirit into the culture of the Islamic world, one simply must take a quick look at the major factors in this

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁷ *Risāla* 1, 16, 21, 35, 26, 27 etc.

⁸ Ms. Damascus Patr. 12/25.

⁹ VÖÖBUS, *The Emergence of Galen's Commentary on Hippocrates in Syriac*.

¹⁰ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 167ff.

¹¹ *Encyclopaedia of Philosophical and Natural Sciences as Taught in Baghdad About A.D. 817 of Book of Treasures*, ed. MINGANA.

process, however much the subject deserves deeper and separate treatment¹.

The time of the great revival of the study of Greek classical wisdom in Islam hangs together with the enlightened attitude of certain caliphs. In this respect, the caliphs al-Mahdi, Hārūn al-Rashīd and in particular al-Māmūn² are to be noted.

A renaissance of Greek classical literature in Islam would probably not have happened had the way for it not been prepared by the enormous creativity of the Syrians in translating that material into Syriac. That fact constituted the fundamental premise for everything that followed. That is to say, it was the Syrians who tackled the profoundly difficult job of translating the Greek material into their own thoughtworld, one very different from that of the Greeks; it was they who created the terminology not to mention the technical devices needed to accomplish this feat. The rendering of these riches in the philosophical, medical, mathematical, geographical and the natural science realms in Arabic was thus made incomparably easier as a result. That was how by far the greater part of the Greek heritage became known to the Arabs — in a roundabout way via the Syriac translations. The significance of the prior translation of Greek wisdom into Syriac represents an accomplishment which cannot possibly be exaggerated.

The importance, in this connection, of the establishment of a school for translating materials into Arabic in Baghdad is obvious quite aside from the impetus it gave to such work. The school was established by al-Māmūn; it was founded during the latter years of his rule³. It was an academy intended for the translation of literary materials⁴. Despite its disadvantages⁵ when compared with the centers of learning among the Syrians, its founding marks a critical milestone. It became even more significant when it was renewed and its leadership entrusted into the hands of Ḥunain ibn Ishāq.

It was at this point in time that a giant among the Syrians appeared, one who was able to make unique contributions. We refer to the

¹ VÖÖBUS, *The Emergence and Cultural Historical Importance of Galen's Commentary* (in the press).

² See page 370ff.

³ The foundation must have taken place before the year 830.

⁴ Yūḥannā ibn Māsawaiḥ of Ġundišapur was appointed head.

⁵ This school was not a place for teaching as in the centers of learning of the Syrians, but a library, a place of study and a center of translation.

renowned physician of Baghdad and deacon of the Nestorian church, Ḥunain ibn Ishāq ibn Suleiman ibn 'Ayyūb al-'Ibādī, the greatest of the Syrian scholars during the middle ages. Through him a flood of literature was unleashed to transmit the wisdom of the Greeks to the world of Semitic culture. Among the categories of Greek learning, that of medical literature received the greatest attention. Given such extraordinary⁶ literary accomplishments⁷, he became the most eminent figure in Islamic intellectual history. He may deservedly be called the Erasmus of the Islamic renaissance.

His life and activities⁸ stand fully in the light of history. Upon his return from the west, he began teaching in the field of medicine. The premises for success in his career were very favorable. When Caliph al-Māmūn established a regular school of translation in Baghdad, Ḥunain found his own niche as a translator. And when Caliph al-Mutawakkil renewed the school as the Bait al-Ḥikma, Ḥunain was entrusted with the direction of it. His life until his death in 877⁹ or 873¹⁰ according to other sources¹¹ was filled with the ceaseless creation of scholarly literature in translation. The report in his *Risāla* is, to say the least, breathtaking¹². His own contribution to this gigantic undertaking was immense.

The contribution made by his son, his nephew as well as the company of his pupils — about a hundred in number — who undertook the translation of works of smaller compass should also be noted. The quantity of Greek works translated into Syriac and from Syriac into Arabic multiplied rapidly, eventually embracing almost the whole of classical learning insofar as it had survived in Antioch, Edessa, Nisibis, Ġundišapur and the Syrian monasteries. Thus did the Arab world become the beneficiary of virtually the entire legacy of Greek scientific works.

Almost a century and a half was to pass after the Arab conquest

⁶ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 227ff.

⁷ The discovery of his *Risāla* for the first time reveals the magnitude of his legacy.

⁸ *Risāla fi-mā aṣabahu min al-miḥan wa-š-šadā'id*. The text of his autobiography is included in UṢAIBI'A, 'Uyūn al-anbā', I, p. 191ff. Cf. GABRIELI, in: *Isis* VI, p. 282ff.

⁹ GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* II, p. 122ff.

¹⁰ UṢAIBI'A, 'Uyūn al-anbā' I, p. 190.

¹¹ IBN AL-NADĪM, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, p. 409; IBN KHALLIKĀN, *Kitāb Wafāyāt al-Āyān* I, p. 167.

¹² *Risāla* The report in his *Risāla* describes more than 90 works of Galen translated by him into Syriac.

before this great endeavor of translating the Greek scientific heritage via Syriac into Arabic began to develop. But the work of translation then began to proceed at such a pace that the ninth century was in fact to become the great age of the translations. The riches of Greek learning embedded in Syriac manuscripts were catapulted to the frontiers of knowledge among the Arabs. No description can do justice to the basal importance of this achievement. Everything that had been accomplished in the Syriac tongue was now passed on to enrich the world of the Arabs, thus impelling the Islamic world of culture to heights greater than it could have imagined.

Throughout their history, the Syrians were never to enjoy the privilege of an independent political life, never to have the advantages of becoming a state. That was a misfortune which they could not circumvent. But, as if by compensation, history assigned the Syrians a role at once as unique as it was honorable in the realm of the spirit, a role which gave them an irreplaceable function in the trans-cultural enrichment of the Near and the Middle East.

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